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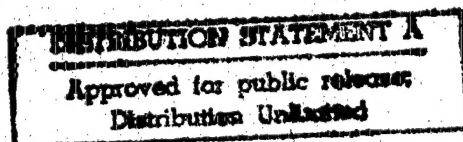
17 June 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2154

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17 June 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2154

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JAKES ASSESSES ECONOMIC SITUATION

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 18, 4 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "The Basis for Our Security, the Guarantee of Our Successes"; portions with slantlines in boldface]

[Text] /9 May 1945--Victory Day--what did this day mean, 38 years ago, to all the nations of the world and, above all, to the Soviet people, who, in a war against the most dangerous, reactionary, and chauvinistic variety of international imperialism, made the greatest material sacrifices and paid the most dearly for its own freedom and the freedom of the [other] nations of Europe and Asia--with the lives of its finest sons and daughters?/

By its heroism, unbounded self-sacrifice, and unshakeable will, it proved what seemed to many impossible. [It was able] not only to kill fascists at the front but to create conditions in the homeland such that the army literally increased in strength from day to day and gained superiority over the enemy. The historical heroism of the Soviet armed forces in the Great Patriotic War confirmed Lenin's thesis on the invincibility of a nation which is fighting for its native land and defending its rights. This heroism is attested by the viability of the Soviet system, the unity of the party and the people, the force of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the superiority of Soviet military science.

What did this day mean to the Czech and Slovak nations, for whom fascism had already prepared a program of genocide? This day marked the end of Hitler's occupation, to which our nation had been led by the base treason of our own bourgeoisie and the governments of countries which had declared themselves allies of bourgeois Czechoslovakia. Again, as always happens in threatening situations, we were betrayed by the hypocrisy and faithlessness of those who, when it suits them, are quick to declare their patriotism, but do not hesitate to sacrifice even the highest interests of their own nation for their own class interests, or even to threaten their own existence.

But the working people of Czechoslovakia were never reconciled to the loss of their national freedom and their state sovereignty. And the communists, being the most active and best organized force in the battle against capitulation, took their place at the forefront of the antifascist struggle.

/The working people learned through personal experience who was a true patriot and where their real friends were./ They were convinced of the bankruptcy of the bourgeois republic's concepts of foreign policy and it became increasingly evident to them that the only hope for our liberation was the Soviet Union, that the fate of our nation was entirely dependent on the heroism of the glorious Soviet Army in the most terrible war in world history.

The relation of the Soviet Union to the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle was in all respects an example of Lenin's nationality and international policies. The Soviets unselfishly granted us multilateral aid in building up regular Czechoslovak military units and in organizing a partisan movement in our country, and afforded significant financial and military aid to the Slovak National Uprising and to the May Uprising of the Czech people, which culminated in the Prague Uprising and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army.

The united battles of the Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers in Sokolov, in Kiev, in the Slovak National Uprising, on the Dukla, near Jasl and Ostrava, were the birthplace of our friendship and alliance, sealed in blood, and of Gottwald's slogan: "With the Soviet Union for eternity! With the Soviet Union and in no other way!" Never can we forget the sacrifices of the 144,000 Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to free our homeland.

#### The Beginning of a New Period in the Life of Our People

The liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army was of enormous significance for the development of our domestic policy and was the basic international condition for creating a revolutionary situation. It served to defend our revolutionary forces in the struggle against the domestic and foreign reaction. It created the conditions for realizing Kosicky's governmental program, which demarcated the goals of the national democratic revolution and contained the major foundations of democratic rule by the people in Czechoslovakia. Kosicky's governmental program expressed a program of leadership from abroad by the CPCZ, which, under the unforgettable Kliment Gottwald, united the national liberation movement with [the] social liberation [movement] and led the domestic resistance to a set of goals of national as well as political and socioeconomic freedom. Shortly after 15 March 1939, Gottwald came out with the thesis "...that not only the class question of the working class but also the national affairs of all people are inseparably linked with the Soviet Union." His statement proved to be true to the last word. /The glorious Soviet Army brought us liberation and 9 May became not only our greatest national holiday but also the beginning of a new period in the life of our nations, a period of heroic struggles for a government by the people, for the liberation of mankind, for the victory of socialism./

During the national liberation struggle and the democratic revolution, the National Front was born as a broad class union in which the working class, led by the CPCZ, took a decisive initiative. The party correctly assumed that there would be a severe class struggle on this platform in

the course of carrying out the tasks of the national democratic revolution and gradually transforming it into a socialist revolution. It made efforts to assure that the workers themselves were convinced, on the one hand, of the CPCZ's devotion to the revolution and its faithfulness to the interests of the people and, on the other hand, since the domestic reaction and its adherents would be against carrying out Kosicky's governmental program, it took pains to assure that the reaction's bids for power aimed at a change in the power structure would be exposed. The CPCZ, aware that it was essential for the working class and the workers to be conscious and organized, prepared the people for the decisive conflict and warned antidemocratic and antisocial forces that Gottwald was not Tuzar. When in February 1948 the reaction tried by a counterrevolutionary putsch to slow down and reverse the revolutionary process, it turned out that /the CPCZ had a clear majority of the workers on its side./ The reaction was crushed and the workers, by their unified action and undivided support of party policy, upheld the achievements of the liberation struggle. They defended the legacy of those who had laid down their lives in class struggles of the pre-Munich republic and during World War II. The working people achieved historical heroism and a path was cleared for realizing the ideals and aspirations of past and present generations--the path to the construction of socialism. This was a logical conclusion to the experiences which we had paid for [so dearly]. /The modern history of our people is inseparably linked with the existence of the Soviet Union and its heroism in the Great Patriotic War./ A consequence of this was that our leadership under Gottwald learned from the Leninist CPSU to unite scientific communism with the mass workers movement, to creatively generalize the historical experiences of revolutionary struggles, to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to mobilize the working class and the workers for a scientific program of the construction of socialism.

#### The Revolutionary Work of the Working People

To fulfill the general program of constructing socialism proclaimed by the party at its Ninth Congress has become the business of all the people and their liberated labor has led to truly grandiose successes, which cannot be compared in revolutionary content and extent with any period in our history. The nationalization of industry, cooperativization of agriculture, socialization of the means of production, and other revolutionary measures in our country have eliminated the exploitation of one person by another and have laid the foundations for interpersonal relations based on the principles of social equality, free labor, and mutual cooperation and aid.

The working class showed by its labor activity, creative initiative, and ability to be trained that it is capable of being a leading force in society. A class of collective farmers arose and, along with a socialistically disposed intelligentsia, a new socialist intelligentsia grew out of the ranks of the workers. A new type of state was created, based on the power of the people, the first in our history to assure real democracy, democracy for the majority of workers. Then the National Front developed as a class union of workers, and on the basis of a Leninist solution of the nationality question, all forms of inequality between our nations and nationalities were gradually liquidated, and poor and backward regions ceased to exist.

The revolutionary tasks of transforming society gave rise to and consolidated the moral political unity of the people, which found its expression above all in a positive relation to work, to socialist ownership, and to community interests. /The basis of all successes of the working people was the fact that the CPCZ, in a creative manner and under our conditions, put into practice general laws of socialist construction, and that it was guided in its activity by the scientific world view of Marxism-Leninism./ And conversely: Any deviation whatever from Leninist principles in the work of the party and in building socialism from proletarian internationalism leads to serious errors and creates a potential possibility for their misuse by the internal and foreign enemies of socialism. And when the party leadership is unprincipled, this may lead to a threat to the socialist system itself, as happened in the crisis development after the 13th CPCZ Congress. For the party and for socialism the vitally important struggle against revisionism and rightwing opportunism, supported by the international aid of the Soviet Union and the other states of socialist society, heroically concluded in a consolidation process in which the party again proved its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and, at its 14th Congress, set before society an urgent program of still more rapid advance along its socialist path--a program of constructing a developed socialist society.

The correctness of this program, better worked out for contemporary conditions and made more specific at the 15th and 16th party congresses, has been fully confirmed by social practice. On the occasion of the recent 35th anniversary of Heroic February, Comrade Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, made an in-depth analysis and manysided evaluation of the work of the party and society over the past 35 years. He showed what enormous successes our working people have achieved.

Based on this analysis, he stressed that the line of strategy of our economic policy--increasing efficiency through intensification of the economy and increasing the quality of every form of work--is a long-term central task whose fulfilment requires the acceleration of and full-scale implementation of scientific and technical development and the strengthening of our ties with the international division of labor and of economic integration with the socialist countries, especially the USSR. It is exceptionally important that we participate more actively and to a greater extent in intensifying collaboration and improving the quality of coordination of the mutual activity of our scientific and technical potentials and gradually make the transition from coordination of scientific and technical policies to still higher forms of scientific and technical collaboration and integration of the CEMA member countries.

One of the fundamental conditions for our development is the basic solution of contemporary problems of our economy in the closest collaboration with the Soviet Union. Still closer collaboration will give us access to the latest results of Soviet science and technology and their applications. It will create the conditions for multiple and bilateral cooperation and contribute to filling gaps in our range of equipment, making it possible to decrease the range [of equipment] which we ourselves manufacture and to limit the importation of equipment from nonsocialist countries.

The rate and success of intensification depend on quality, on our active participation and quality of work. Essential to this are significant changes in the mechanism of economic management, as well as in its branch structure and its technical basis, while reconstructing systems of economic management and harmonizing our structural policy and growth strategy are among the major paths of intensification.

We must, above all, increase the quality of planning to safeguard statewide interests and overcome narrow departmental and local patriotic tendencies, expanding the khozraschet bases of the activity of enterprises, strengthening the activity of economic regulators and directives, systematically implementing bases for rewarding work depending on its amount, quality and social significance, and making better use of worker initiative.

These are not tasks for the center alone. /Throughout the system we must put norms of efficiency and consumption in order, systematically assure the upvaluing of everything available to us, economize with our basic resources and work forces, with our raw materials and energy sources, and eliminate wastage in all areas./ It is important to make sure that everyone understands that the struggle for increased economy regulates our entire future development, being one of the permanent conditions for increased efficiency. In brief, it is most essential to systematically control the rates of work and consumption, and to substantially improve the organization of labor and management. This is one of the aims of the Set of Measures, which has set forth a whole complex of methods by which to increase efficiency and strengthen khozraschet principles. Experience confirms, however, that no system of managing the national economy can operate automatically, but must always be linked to a high level of direct management, with different ways of solving problems under different specific conditions, and that we must accept a high level of responsibility for the sector entrusted to us and for fulfilling the tasks assigned us. /In this respect, we must substantially increase criticism and self-criticism and not put up with the fact that, although there is much talk of the need for efficient production in economic agencies and at party and departmental meetings, yet in practice what often prevails is an unwillingness to introduce anything new, and, for their own personal convenience, people close their eyes to everything which would, no doubt, mean a contribution to society but more trouble and work for the responsible workers./ Such attitudes are at variance with the interests of our society. We respect all those who, by their example of an active approach to fulfilling the tasks of the state plan, are a model of labor and state discipline, who consider it their civil duty to become involved and to fight against shortcomings. We must not be tolerant of those who give preference to their own comforts, who reconcile themselves to shortcomings, and whose personal, enterprise and departmental interests are more important to them than those of our entire society. Therefore, economic and state, party and departmental agencies, must take as a basic criterion for evaluating the work of every enterprise and plant, how their products, by their range and quality, deliveries within the time specified, and readiness for service, meet the requirements of consumers in the domestic and foreign markets.



## With the People and For the People

The 16th CPCZ Congress oriented our entire society toward the basic tasks of further development and thus also specified the degree of the people's creative initiative, which is an irreplaceable source of strength for socialism in all stages of its development. This year, too, just as in previous years, millions of workers are joining in various forms of socialist competition and in this way expressing their support of the party's policy and its strategic program for constructing a developed socialist society. The active participation of the working class and the workers in fulfilling production tasks, in increasing their participation in the management of production, and in the political and social life of the country are the most important paths for the development of socialist democracy and a basic precondition for further successes.

Challenging conditions place still greater demands on the party's ability to apply the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, creatively and under specific conditions, to establishing a correct policy and winning over the workers to its implementation, to introducing correct labor and personnel policies, to achieving unity in ideas and actions of all party organs and organizations, political maturity, class consciousness, and the involvement of every communist. The party can succeed in fulfilling its social mission only if it has the confidence of the people. This requires the renewed and constant activity of every communist, and we must not forget that /the purpose of all our activity is to serve the people, to be at the forefront of the struggle for its happy life, to win over the people to fulfilling our goals and to active participation in implementing party policy, and to awaken and develop its creative initiative./ This is not possible, however, without decisive action against shortcomings, indifference, lack of thrift, low-quality work, and wastage of public resources, against all appearances of parasitism and egotism, superficiality and unhealthy local patriotism, without constantly increased punishments and without order in every sector of our activity.

The recently concluded series of annual membership meetings and regional conferences of the CPCZ has confirmed that an increasingly larger number of party organizations and communists are aware of their responsibility. This has also been demonstrated by the fact that pertinent and constructive criticism has concerned primarily problems of the workplace, especially in regard to fulfilling economic tasks. In discussions, the prevailing orientation has been toward utilizing reserves in one's own work and toward the possibility of further increases in efficiency. The communists have called attention primarily to problems of managerial and organizational work, of implementing higher standards at all levels of management and increasing the responsibility of managers for carrying out tasks of the state plan and detecting reserves. Annual membership meetings and conferences have become a significant component of efforts by the entire party to fulfill planned tasks, to raise standards and increase responsibility in enforcing the interests of all society, and to establish discipline, law and order.

/Guarantees of our further successes are the revolutionary initiative of the people led by the Communist Party and an indivisible alliance and collaboration with the Soviet Union./ The brotherhood of our nations with those of the USSR is in keeping with the most vital interests of the Czechoslovak people. The economic, political and military strength of the Soviet Union gives our country security, multiplies our strength and capabilities, and is the basis for our national and class security. As Husak stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "Multilateral collaboration with the Soviet Union makes possible the continuous development of our national economy and the solution of the vitally important problem of scientific and technical development. It helps us to obtain advanced technology, raw and processed materials and energy, and guarantees our products a favorable and stable market. Such collaboration makes it possible for us to suppress the unfavorable effect on our economy of crisis developments in the capitalist world." An industrial and coordinated economic diversion is being carried out against the socialist countries, the goal of which is to weaken world socialist society as much as possible. American imperialism in particular is obstructing economic and scientific and technical collaboration between countries, placing embargos on access to scientific data and the export of modern technology through various forms of discrimination, and misusing the results of scientific and technological research for political extortion.

Most dangerous not only for socialism, for the communist, worker, and national liberation movements, but also for all humanity, are the war doctrines of international, especially American, imperialism, and efforts to destroy the military strategic equilibrium between the United States and the USSR, between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, by plans to deploy new types of weapons of mass annihilation in the countries of Western Europe for the purpose of obtaining military superiority over the socialist world. Again, the words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin are proving true, that as long as imperialism exists it will not relinquish its class interests and goals and will use all means to strengthen them. The peace-loving efforts of the USSR and the countries of the socialist society are aimed against such a policy. The congress of the political advisory council of the Warsaw Pact this January in Prague adopted meaningful proposals which serve the aims of peace, elimination of the danger of nuclear war, and the introduction of relations of trust and collaboration. All these proposals are unconditionally supported by our country. Peace is for us the basic condition for further development of the revolutionary legacy of the national liberation struggle and the glorious days of May 1945, and for assuring the future multilateral development of our society and a happy life for our people.

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JARUZELSKI ADVISER INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH ATTITUDES

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview by Wojciech Krawczyk: "Wieslaw Gornicki Talks about Young People, Youth"]

[Text] (From the editorial board) We continue the publication of statements on "About Young People, Youth" that we asked from the political personalities, party activists and state authorities, publicists and scholars--addressing our authors with 11 questions. Today, Maj Wieslaw Gornicki, a prominent reporter and publicist, advisor to the chairman of the Polish People's Republic's Council of Ministers, answers our questions. Let us recall that in the two last issues of the SZTANDAR LUDU we printed the statements of Jerzy Urban, Council of Ministers undersecretary, government press spokesman, and those of Prof Dr Kazimierz Zygmunt, minister of Culture and Arts.

Wieslaw Gornicki: The editorial board of the SZTANDAR LUDU demands from me something of a confession. I do not think I am prepared for such an operation. As long as one works and actively partakes in social life, our youth is an object of constant self-revision. That is, at least, what I think today, for it is hard to foretell if I will think this way for instance in a year's time. Our life not only is our property but also a part of universal history, the history of our country, class and environment. A purely subjective standpoint on my own youth is perhaps useful while mediating on the subjects of private life, but in general it is of little value when what matters is to determine our real place in life.

I will attempt, however, to answer your questions concisely. Actually, I will do it only for one reason: because the editorial board opted for a more difficult channel of communication than the usual writing of commentaries, and as a former journalist I know well that in this profession it has been always easier to follow a beaten track.

[Question] Which of the problems of contemporary youth do you consider as really requiring the intervention of party and state, and which in return do you consider as naturally related to the age?



[Answer] I have always assumed and I continue to assume that nobody owes anything to anybody. That is why countless "youth problems" sometimes make me laugh, sometimes irritate me, and in most cases bring about moments of joyless reflections. I know 30-year olds who complain, even publicly for instance about a shortage of tape recorders, carpets or suitably popular records. All should give something: state, loved parents, school, society, workplace and university. I grew up in completely different conditions. There was nothing to be ashamed of. I worked all my life in high gear and managed to stand on my own two feet. I do not see any reason for every new generation to be coddled till the verge of adulthood. Having said this, I admit that starting out for the young generation in our country is now more difficult, not in a material sense--for I cannot accept this (at the age of 20 I lived on watery soup, managed to survive tuberculosis, and a monthly tramway fare-card was beyond my dreams in the field of transportation)--but rather from the point of view of the sociological conditions of starting out. I am resolutely against preferences given to the young out of this "logic": he is young, hence should have his own plot of land. I am in favor of sharp competition, aggressiveness, resourcefulness and self-dependence in every respect possible. The problem is to create the opportunity for those who fulfill the criteria of self-dependence and aggressiveness. That is what we really have too little of in our country.

[Question] What adult attitudes favor the social education of young people, according to you?

[Answer] In my view there is only one attitude: concordance between words and deeds. One who says at a party meeting, pulpit, workplace something different than at home during supper, not only is a mean character but a genuine depravator of youth as well. My good fortune in life was that I met scores of people whose words and opinions did not conflict with their attitude in private life. These two sides of a personality, in my view, are indissoluble.

[Question] "The state helps young people." What did it mean during your youth, and what does it mean now? Has the effective scope of this assistance increased?

[Answer] I would like to call attention, for instance, to the fact that not only does the U.S. Government not provide young people with any help but also would feel indignant if such an opinion were formulated. Have you heard, for instance, about youth as an isolated group being helped by the state in such countries as West Germany, France or Great Britain? In general, I am against the world "help." I talked previously about the necessity to create opportunities. But here ends my thinking about holding young people by the hand.

If my words sound a bit harsh, what young readers can regard as the senile grumbling of a "settled fellow," so much the better. At least, half of our current misunderstandings and dissensions stem from the fact that we pick words, beat around the bush and are afraid of calling a spade a spade.

[Question] In considering, as a young man, the rights of socialism in Poland, which of these rights, Comrade, were of the first priority? And which were considered secondary?

[Answer] It should not be disguised that the main right was of a personal and political nature. I belong to the generation of workers' sons, who owe literally everything to the Polish revolution: the feeling of equal opportunities in social life, economic advancement, overcoming of social complexes, education and the state of social consciousness. Finally, we have always been Andrzej Radek's descendants. Of equal importance as the intellectual and moral right which caused me to declare, in the earliest years, for socialism (that is against Polish and international reaction, and I would like these words to be heard with all strength because of the portion of current lessons I got through at the age of 16), was also the influence of socialism on the consolidation and, above all, the reconstruction of the Polish state within its present borders and the perspective of civilized advancement of Poland. I remember perfectly well, from the years of my youth, those dandies dressed in chamois jackets who danced the boogie-woogie and grimaced derisively at us from the Rural Youth Union and Union of Polish Youth, when we held in our unaccustomed hands a shovel, a spade, a pickax or simply carried bricks. We did it, not because someone paid for it, or because it looked good, but because we did not imagine otherwise our place in this country, under these skies. I will not disguise either--since you have been listening to my background lesson--that a quite important role of attraction had been played by the unequivocal anticlericalism of the revolutionary youth movement. I know that today, one ought not use such a terminology but unfortunately, I have a good memory and remember perfectly what school chaplains taught me, how under pressure I had to say my prayers at school and how in 1947 I was expelled from school, simply because I dared address a priest with a question. Finally, not without significance, although for young readers it would be most difficult to comprehend, was the horrible lesson of the war years. But this cannot be dealt with in a short reply.

[Question] Are the rights of socialism in Poland attractive or only necessary for contemporary youth? Are these rights, in general, considered in a broader and more profound manner by young people?

[Answer] How can I know it? Not very often I meet, however, young people and frequently I get the feeling from these meetings, that young people's heads are filled solely with pretensions and doubts.

[Question] What you accept in contemporary young people, and which of their features and attitudes irritate you most?

[Answer] What do I accept in contemporary young people? My dears, first of all, without any comparison, a higher level of education, reading, the ability to articulate one's own opinions. As to the second question, I hope to have already expressed myself sufficiently sharply and in an offensive manner.

[Question] Did you, in your youth, fall into conflict with a good cause? What was the cause and how did it affect you?

[Answer] Quite frequently. It turned out in different ways: from being twice denied Union of Polish Youth members' rights for..., sectarianism, the blame I keep on my file to this day, not without emotion, to subsequent quarrels at school, university as well as at the workplace. It would take a while to tell it.

[Question] What were you forbidden to do in your youth?

[Answer] A great many things: flirting with girls (in those years there was evidently nothing else to be talked of), bad language, smoking... after all why should I repeat myself. This is unchangeable from generation to generation.

[Question] Did you have the feeling of not being understood by your parents?

[Answer] I was interested in everything: the world, Poland, politics, to which I devoted a great amount of time. Many people from my milieu, with similar backgrounds to mine, who similarly did not have enough time to take dancing lessons, were not conspicuous by their excellent manners, and up to about the 1930's were exceptional empty-headed because of chaotic, frequently senseless and greedily-acquired knowledge. It is hard to say, however, if I regret those times.

If the case for an intensive style of life were based on nothing else except medicine, then, for the sake of young readers, I want to state that an intensive, hard-working style of life releases, in the human organism, an increased output of adrenalin, which contributed greatly--as medical books instruct us--to the preservation of youth, energy, etc.

[Question] What was superfluous in your youth?

[Answer] An excess of zeal. Impetuosity. Frequent, unfortunately too-frequent manifestations of intolerance, impulsiveness, a conviction that I held the sole existing truth. It is necessary to pass through one's fifties to bring oneself to this kind of reflection.

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CSO: 2600/835

RAKOWSKI CRITICIZED OVER POLEMICS IN URBAN AFFAIR

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 20, 15 May 83 p 2

[Article by Edmund Osmanczyk, Sejm deputy from Ziemia Opolska: "[Sejm] Deputy Questions Deputy Premier M. F. Rakowski"]

[Text] To Citizen Deputy Premier

Before I submit my questions, the chronology of the so-called "Urban affair" should be kept in mind. Three weeks after editor Jerzy Urban was designated government spokesman, in the fall of 1981 an article appeared in SZPILKI signed by him attacking the Sejm and the deputies in general in language unknown to Polish journalism since the first years of the Pilsudski regime. This produced a protest from citizen Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm, and a reply from the deputy premier stating that the SZPILKI text was written before Minister J. Urban was nominated spokesman, the assurances were given that J. Urban will not publish his personal views under his own name. In fact, subsequent columns by J. Urban have appeared in SZPILSK but without being signed with the sketch of a cut-throat wearing a black mask over his eyes.

This year, however, the weekly TU I TERAZ introduced a regular article entitled menacingly "Mob Rule" that is signed by the government spokesman and is always aggressive in form and content; those attacked by the articles could not possibly polemicize because of interference by the censors (see TYGODNIK POWSCZECHNY: "J. Urban's Reply"). In view of J. Urban's subsequent attack in this column on the Sejm and its nonparty deputies, the latter authorized Halina Skibniewska, Kazimierz Secomski and Jan Szczepanski to question the premier orally as to the purpose of this attack on the deputies at this time. The premier said he was unfamiliar with the affair but promised to investigate. According to the deputy premier, Minister J. Urban offered to resign, but it was not accepted. In subsequent "Mob Rule" columns, he attacked in turn Father Maksymilian Kolbe, which was questioned officially in writing by 17 deputies. Before they received a reply, the weekly TU I TERZ dedicated several columns of several issues to defending the author and his "Mob Rule" self-defense. The deputy premier then sent a reply to the questioning deputies after a lapse of 6 weeks, a reply that was already known in as much as it was published in the press; however, on this occasion he again gave assurances that the government spokesman would not publish under

his own name. Indeed, the next "Mob Rule" column appeared under the name of "Jan Rem," a pseudonym of the present spokesman known for 25 years. This information was published by POLITYKA and was reprinted in TU I TERAZ without contradiction. Under these conditions, the deputy premier's reply in a short, objective letter to deputy J. Zablocki can not be acknowledged as satisfactory, which I expressed by noting that it is not an "ad Rem" reply. Meanwhile, the deputy premier decided to continue and to expand the defense of the government spokesman personally in the columns of POLITYKA to which I reacted with the following open letter sent to POLITYKA:

Dear Citizen Deputy Premier,

In the postscript of your polemic with Deputy Janusz Zablocki, you appealed to POLITYKA's young readers to familiarize themselves with the enclosed replies from MALY DZIENNIK of almost a half-century ago, and thus two generations. In my opinion, you committed a serious political blunder by violating certain tacit agreements, that are a part of political life of all nations, not to open Pandora's box inasmuch as history teaches us that it should remain closed for a sufficiently long time.

The fact of the matter is that during the last 100 years in the history of Poland, as in the history of other European countries, the Right wing had its history of nationalism. In Poland, its nucleus was the National Party. In addition--as elsewhere in Europe--larger or smaller groups of nationalists existed with greater or lesser antisemitic, anticommunist or simply profascist inclinations. In contrast to other countries of Europe, during World War II there were no Poles in Poland prepared to collaborate with the fascists. For this reason, also, many representatives of the nationalist viewpoint gave their lives in the struggle against fascism or else lived through the Gehenna of jails and concentration camps. After the war only an insignificant portion of these people remained abroad or emigrated. However--and this is probably important in the history of People's Poland--a very significant portion joined in the building of the people's state, including even those who before the 1939 was stood much further on the right than MALY DZIENNIK.

What is more, Mr Deputy Premier, today we are witnesses, as you probably know best of all, that people descendent from the nationalist right wing play a vital role in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Thus it is not fair nor politically sound to instruct the younger generation in 1983 about the views of one group of nationalists that existed a half century ago and to remain silent about the even more radical views of other groups during those times.

Mr Deputy Premier, we are not post-Hitler Germans obligated to remember viewpoints adequately washed away with Polish blood. Who needs this today and in the name of what? You are doing this in the name of the minor, dismal affair of your personal friend, Jerzy Urban, who you defend in POLITYKA for "tactlessness," as if the government spokesman did not have that minimum of decency that is required of every government representative: tact. Your colleague in the government, Deputy Premier Zenon Komender, in a letter to SLOWO POWSZECHNE described this tactlessness more plainly as "meanness." Whether it was "tactlessness" or "meanness" we will leave to

the public opinion of our country, but neither the one or the other entitles you to use such risky ammunition of a half-century ago to defend your spokesman. This has to engender public opposition, and my letter expresses this, especially since your reply appeared during the week after the reply in PREGŁAD TYGODNIOWY, the contemporary organ of the nationalistic Right wing, where a venerable representative of one of our prewar radical-Right groups openly calls for--ironically in the "Free Tribune" column of this paper--a policy of total muzzling in order to make "all organizations of good will superfluous."

I beg you kindly, Mr Deputy Premier, to forsake this kind of polemic in the defense of a minor and quite wrong affair because it serves no good purpose either in Poland or abroad. My fellow deputy from Sieradz, please believe me, your much older colleague, that these are not the times for this. With collegial regards.

Edmund Osmaczyk  
Ziemia Opolska Deputy  
Warsaw, 24 April 1983

On 29 April the editors of the weekly LAD informed me that my letter was confiscated. I received similar news from the editors of POLITYKA and SŁOWO Powszechne that neither publication will be able to print my letter. In association with the above, I have two questions for the deputy premier:

- 1) what state interest require the continuation of J. Urban's controversial attack on Father Kolbe's past, especially now?
- 2) what law or decree gives you the right, Mr Deputy Premier, to polemicize publicly with the views of Sejm deputies and to deny by administrative methods the opposition views of Sejm deputies?

In accordance with the martial law decree that exempts from censorship the replies and questions of Sejm deputies, and the decree permitting the publicizing of such documents, after submitting these questions to the Marshal of the Sejm, I am submitting them to the editors of LAD, POLITYKA, SŁOWO Powszechne, TYGODNIK Powszechny and TU I TERAZ to publish them.

I am signing this along with a reminder of my parctical slogan: "Work and Law and Order."

Signed: Edmund Osmanczyk  
Ziemia Opolska Deputy  
Warsaw, 30 April 1983

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## PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Organizers of New Trade Unions

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 12 Apr 83 p 3

[Text] Gustaw Bartnik, vice chairman, Founding Committee, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of the Employees of the Transportation Equipment Plant [WSK] in Mielec, has invited me to go with him to one of the departments he had to visit in order to intervene on the workers' behalf. In this particular case, one of the worker teams had the payment of their bonus pay suspended. The reason for the suspension was that the leader of the 10-person team in his production reports had recorded figures higher than the actual production by the team. Consequently, in the past year he was paid 26,500 zlotys, while his team members--100,000 zlotys for work they did not do. The employees turned to the union arguing that they had no idea of the team leader's schemes. After Bartnik's intervention the WSK director accepted the employees explanation and approved the payment of the bonus pay but only to two female members of the team. Both young female workers came to work straight after graduating from a trade school. They worked in that team for a very short period of time, and their statement of innocence was considered credible, particularly that the team leader got them quickly out of the team. With regard to the other experienced employees the director refused to make a decision in their favor. In fact he could not, because their case ended up in court. The court will decide whether the employees were in collusion with the team leader or took the money unaware of the scheme. Vice chairman Bartnik came to the department to inform the employees of that decision.

Every day from several to a dozen people call on the union for assistance or intervention. The calls cover all kinds of problems: personal; family; housing; working conditions; wages, as well as management-employee conflicts. Among callers are nonunion employees as well. The union officers leave no contact unanswered; they intervene with the administration and even with the City Administration Office, for example, in the case of housing problems. The Founding Committee also submitted a letter to vice premier M. Rakowski, chairman, Committee for the Trade Unions Affairs, in which it pointed out that the trade unions function already and therefore the decisions concerning the affairs of workers crews ought to be more



broadly consulted with the unions, particularly in big enterprises; this letter was published by the WSK newspaper. This led to the invitation of the Mielec trade unionists, among others, to participate in the meeting of the government presidium as consultants in important workers' affairs.

In their activities the union members continue some of the previous union when they benefit the employees. In fact, the first section of the new union's activity program calls for the completion of the agreement signed by the strike committee with the political-administrative leadership of the enterprise as early as September 1980. Several other sections of the program have been already completed. For example, the union secured permission from the administration to utilize the area initially intended for new development--presently halted--for personal garden plots. Thus, 310 plots have been already distributed among employees. There is no information available on how long will it take to begin the development, but in the meantime the area will be utilized. Equally important are the problems of welfare and benefits. A special welfare commission has been established after consultations with the party committee and civic organizations active in the enterprise and it functions now as a union problem commission. Marian Ciemiega, its chairman as well as secretary of the Founding Committee, has the following to say: We are involved in everything, from the distribution of items of personal hygiene to work cloth, vacations, children camps, medical care in spas and sanatoriums, through personal garden plots, etc.

The union becomes a part of the reality in the enterprise and gets involved in increasing number of problems. The administration slowly gets used to the fact that the union again is a part of the hiring and termination processes. Members of the union founding committees in all of the seven divisions of the enterprise are routinely invited by the enterprise director to management meetings. There are other problems as well. The union has in its program combating alcoholism at the enterprise. Thus, when the Airplane Division decided to terminate an employee for drinking on the job, the union supported that decision. However, when one of the managers had committed a similar violation he was severely disciplined by the administration at the union's suggestion. Zdzislaw Kruzel, chairman, Founding Committee, will tell you that the idea is to treat all employees justly both in terms of awards and discipline, so that the union members did not harbor any suspicions that the union is on the side of the administration.

Last January, a few weeks after the union's registration at the Voivodship Court in Rzeszow, only 300 persons applied for the membership. Today the union has approximately 3000 members and its ranks continuously grow.

Z. Kruzel: At present we do not observe any apprehension or hostile activity on the part of the employees with regard to the union and its activities. It can be said, however, that people very carefully watch our undertakings. Increasing number of employees accept our activity, particularly after realizing that nobody leads us. For we maintain a partnership cooperation with the administration and the PZPR Enterprise Committee and intend to continue it in the future.



Gustaw Bartnik adds: We are a worker union. This is best exemplified by statistics. Out of 3000 union members 70 percent are workers. We have both party and nonparty members. We are still in the formative stage. We are preparing now for the elections to the basic union elements and of representatives for the enterprise conference, during which the enterprise union council will be chosen.

Many problems still require solution. The union has already discussed with the WSK administration the problem of the distribution of the estate of the former unions. At issue is 9.8 million zlotys. It has been decided that the estate will be taken over by the new enterprise union council. Until then the union will continue to borrow from that estate some funds necessary to continue its present activity, particularly with regard to emergency relief and statutory subsistence benefits.

There is a problem with the latter, for according to the law an employee, who remains a nonunion member for a period longer than 3 months since the installation of a new union, loses his union seniority. The deadline was 31 March 1983. Thus, at present nonunion members should not receive any statutory subsistence benefits. However, although no decision has been made with regard to the extension of the deadline for the retention of union seniority, it has been decided to continue paying the benefits primarily with the funds from the former unions' estate until the enterprise conference makes decisions in this respect.

With regard to the transportation of employees to and from work the biggest union's achievement has been obligating the administration to reorganize the transportation system. The union was forced to deal with that issue by the raises of bus ticket prices. The new ticket prices make an employee, who commutes 20 km to work, to pay 900 zlotys per month as compared with 17 zlotys prior to the ticket price change. And yet the enterprise still significantly subsidizes each ticket. At the union's suggestion the length of bus lines was verified, and in many cases it was discovered that the State Motor Transport [PKS] and even the City Motor Transport [MKS] in Mielec had fictitiously lengthened the bus lines, thus increasing the costs. Moreover, due to the union's efforts some lines have been shortened, while others--which duplicated the Polish State Railroads [PKP] lines--liquidated. This will save the enterprise 18 million zlotys per year, while the individual monthly bus ticket will cost less, 450-600 zlotys.

When I asked the union officials about their work with the administration, I was told that they had no problems with the WSK director. He had given them an office with basic equipment and approved the creation of union position for its chairman and vice chairman. Also, he has been reviewing other problems in a timely manner. However, the management staff at lower levels is not always interested in understanding the meaning of the union's activities. An unjust distribution of a bonus pay--in the opinion of the union and the crew--in one of the divisions, was cited as an example. The division director listened to the union's complaint, but refused to change his decision arguing that the regulations had allowed him to make such decision.

At present, the members of the 21-person Founding Committee spend plenty of time on meetings at enterprise departments and production sections, regardless of whether they had a large or small union membership.

Invited by the union, I attended one such meeting at the Tools Department. Employees in attendance were primarily concerned about the future activity of the union and the benefits of the union membership.

Zdzislaw Kruzal: We are being invited to the meetings of the department party organizations [OOP], to open party meetings, to crew meetings and production meetings. We meet with the workers on breakfast breaks, in production halls, and at their job sites. We were not given days of grace. We often explain that the union will look the way it was shaped by the employees. After all, we do not want anything but a just distribution of the means produced by a joint effort, and for every solid and disciplined member of the crew a good pay, fair life, and better working conditions.

#### Kielce Meeting With Union Members

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (anw)]

[Text] At the initiative of the Voivodship Information-Consulting Team for the Cooperation with Trade Unions a working meeting of the voivodship authorities and the representatives of trade unions, registered and active in Kielce Voivodship, convened at the Voivodship Administration Office in Kielce.

Lt Governor Zbigniew Nowak reported on the current socioeconomic situation and the directions of the intended savings and anti-inflation programs, while Prof Stanislaw Cieslinski, chairman of the Team, reported on the growth of the trade union movement in the voivodship.

During a discussion, led by Ryszard Zborg, chairman, Voivodship People's Council [WRN] in Kielce, the participants shared their experiences as well as informed about activities, plans, and initiatives undertaken in the interests of the working people. They did not hide difficulties: attention was drawn to a number of ambiguous legal acts making it difficult to carry out everyday work in trade union organizations.

Prof Zbigniew Salwa, chairman, Civic Consultative Commission for Trade Unions' Affairs, offered comprehensive answers to questions posed by the participants.

Ryszard Zborg proposed future working meetings of Kielce Voivodship authorities and trade union officials; it was met with approval of the participants. Branch meetings of this type will be called in the nearest future.

At the yesterday's meeting a proposal was made to create a supraenterprise union structure in the voivodship.

Out of 517 enterprises in Radom Voivodship 400 already have trade union initiative groups. The authorities approved the registration of 188 unions, while in 65 officers have been already elected. Nearly half of the employed in the voivodship economic units are union members. These data show that the first, formal-organizational stage of the trade union formation has been completed. Hence the need to change the forms of work also with regard to the Information-Consulting Team at the WRN which hitherto has been offering a consulting assistance to the new unions. It was decided to pay more attention to the cooperation of the commission with the enterprises, which do not have any initiative groups yet.

Barbara Czuprynska, chairperson, Commission for the Affairs of the Trade Unions, who chaired the meeting, shared with the participants her reflections about the meeting of the Civic Consultative Commission in Warsaw. Judging from the discussion at that meeting, preparations for the establishment of supraenterprise union structures have been already begun in many regions of the country.

#### Union Organizations at Large Plants

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Krawczyk]

[Text] Another union organization of a large plant in Lublin Voivodship and region elected its officers. On 8 April 126 delegates, representing nearly 3000 members of the Trade Union of Employees of the Polish Swidnik Aviation Plant [PZL] Transportation Equipment Plant in Swidnik, at the first meeting of the delegates council elected the Union Board, Auditing Commission, and the Court of Peers. Stefan Stepień, until now the chairman of the Founding Committee of the plant organizations, was elected the chairman of the board.

The report of the Founding Committee presented the history of the restoration of the union movement at the Transportation Equipment Plant [WSK]. The establishment of the initiative group and its first organizational and other undertakings were initially accompanied by a waiting atmosphere, lack of acceptance, and even hostility. With time, however, those attitudes evolved into more appreciative and supportive. Nevertheless, on 16 December 1982, when the union was officially registered, only 459 employees, or five percent of the plant's total workforce, joined it. At present, the Trade Union of the WSK Employees in Swidnik has 2823 members, grouped in 70 circles, representing all WSK departments. While carrying out organizational work, accompanied by drafting documents and concepts on cooperation with the management and sociopolitical organizations in the plant, the union engaged in resolving various employees' problems and concerns. The Founding Committee members, for example, participated in the reviewing of and decisions on changes in regulations with regard to

merit pay and profit awards as well as with regard to the selection of employees for job assignments abroad. Due to the lack of funds for its activities, the union took over the accounts of the former trade unions which accumulated more than 5 million zlotys. This amount was composed of funds accumulated by Solidarity (3,163,000), Trade Union of Metal Workers (1,981 million zlotys), and the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of the Airplane Crews (9000 zlotys).

The report of the Founding Committee and subsequent election of the Rules, Election, and Resolutions and Suggestions Committees were followed by a discussion.

It was established at the outset that to be elected a member of the union leadership the candidate must get at least 50 percent of the vote. Moreover, the participants agreed that one person cannot have more than one executive function such as membership in the board as well as Auditing Commission and Peers' Court; while to be eligible to hold the position of chairman of the plant organization a person must be a union member for at least 5 years and employee of the plant for at least 3 years. With regard to other leadership positions, the time requirements were lowered by 1 year, respectively. A decision was made to postpone the election of a Labor Inspector until the passing of the bill on labor inspection by civic organizations.

The following suggestions were made in the course of a discussion lasting long hours: (a) to bring about real emancipation of female employees so that women, who occupy the same positions as men and perform the same job as men, get the same pay as men; (b) to bring down the pay of employees with college education and who do not occupy management positions or perform management functions to the level of the median pay; (c) to establish a Day Club for the retirees and pensioners under the sponsorship of the union; (d) to bring back control of individual pay classifications so that the bases for the establishment of pay rates for certain groups of employees would become more understandable; (e) to clarify the language of regulations governing the awards from the plant fund, including the bonus pay, known as the "thirteenth pay;" and (f) to increase the scale of the patronage housing construction which would include permitting the housing cooperative members to perform specialized work on construction sites on a greater scale, which would allow earlier completion of apartment houses.

Participants applauded the speech of Alfred Krupa, a longtime WSK employee, who spoke about the need for the Poles to reach an understanding with each other and about dangers resulting from the lack of it. He appealed for the abandonment in the future of strike "festivals," "hunger" strikes, and of unrealistic economic and political demands, because they only make the "affairs of Poland and of the Poles" more hopeless. A. Krupa concluded his speech by saying that "We can be saved only by hard and well-organized work."

Marek Persona in his speech focused mostly on the criteria for selection of persons for job assignments abroad and stated that there are people with unspectacular professional and civic activity records who had been on foreign assignments several times already.

Two participants focused on the problems of health care in Swidnik. One of the female discussants criticized the obligatory requirement to register children after each medical check-up. She also appealed to the city authorities present at the conference for more dentists as Swidnik experiences a very severe shortage of them.

The speech of Stefan Stepień, chairman of the Founding Committee of the union organization in the plant, was listened to with approval. He stated, among others: "We do not care to what union a person belonged in the past. We are open to everybody and if those who still hesitate will decide to come to us we will extend our hand to them on the condition that they are interested in a constructive discussion, not in negation." He further stated: "Let us not fool ourselves, our crew is still divided and experiencing misunderstandings. But what is being offered by our opponents, who call themselves the 'underground'? Only kid's games--pouring paint over information and documents posted on our bulletin board." The speaker appealed for agreement between people who for years went to work together and now do not even say "good morning" to each other. He also warned against politicization of the union. "At present there are legal guarantees that the unions will be independent and self-governing, the idea is to remember to read often our bylaws and not to bury them in a drawer," concluded S. Stepień.

Among the speakers was Stanisław Gwoździ, employed of the Truck Factory [FSC] in Lublin and member of the Citizens' Information-Consultative Commission for Trade Unions Affairs at the Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] in Lublin, who stated, among others, that "The intentions and undertakings of the authorities aiming at building a strong state must find broad support in the society and this is the basic condition for making these undertakings a success. In order for this condition to occur a strong trade union movement and strong lower echelons of the PZPR must be created from below. This, among others, will create the foundations of the state we want; a state characterized by the rules of partnership and mutual respect as well as universal respect for law and social covenants. Meanwhile, situations still occur when these fundamental matters are being forgotten and there are members of the authorities, who have been demoralized by the state of martial law and lost the habit of consulting the working class." Furthermore, he questioned the recent practice of consultations initiated by some ministries and called them hasty and feigned. S. Gwoździ stated: "As unions we should also present the state and economic authorities with topics for consultation instead of waiting passively for topics to be presented to us for consultation. And let us not forget that consultations ought to concern not just the problems of living conditions and benefits, and--although also important--means of providing the employees with parsley and onions. We have won the right to demand more than that."

Then he reported on a discussion by representatives of several organizations in the plant about the need for the establishment of supraenterprise union structures and he invited the Swidnik union members to join that debate, whose findings and suggestions ought to be forwarded without delay to the Council of State.

Roman Gutowski in his speech paid much attention to the problem of fulfilling the plant's contracts with foreign partners. He pointed out, among others, that the contract on spare parts to helicopters with the Soviet Union--the main receipt of the spare parts--is being met in 80 percent only. "I am afraid," he said, "that if that practice continues our partner will stop ordering from us and this would be catastrophic for our plant."

R. Gutowski also noted the unprofitability of our agro-air services abroad due to high costs of personnel, service, and taxes, which exceed the contract prices. He also suggested that the production of motorcycles at the WSK be discontinued, because they cannot compete on both domestic and foreign markets with motorcycles manufactured in Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Mieczyslaw Ciebien, first secretary of the Plant PZPR Committee, talked about democratization of the decisionmaking mechanism in the plant and democracy of the party life. The latter can learn also from the example of the emerging trade union movement. With regard to the party activity in the plant comrade Ciebien stated the following: "We have always maintained that only honest work, combat with evils and pathologies of the social life are among our major tasks. At present, similar position has been taken by the trade union. Thus, there are no differences between us. And there can be none, because both we and you come from the working class. We must continue to cultivate respect for that class and care for its honor by combating cliques, nepotism, everyday dishonesty as well as by defending the rights of the entire crew we must defend the weakest among us."

The last to take the floor was Lt Col Andrzej Zeh, graduate of a technical college and the general manager of the WSK, who expressed hope that the newly created trade unions along with the emerging workers' self-government will be the guarantors of proper development of the plant. "And in the meantime," he stated, "I invite all union members to a joint realization of the plant's program of savings and anti-inflation activities." Next, the election results were reported. As a result of a vote cast by 115 attending delegates, of which 111 were approved as valid, a 25-member plant union board was elected. Henryk Lewandowski, union board member, received the highest number of votes--102. The delegates also elected the 11-member Audit Commission and 6-member Peers' Court. The Board members elected the chairman, Stefan Stepien, who had received 79 votes.

At the end of the meeting the activity program of the union was approved; it stated, among others, that the union recognizes and accepts all achievements of its predecessors in the service of the working people and



that it would demand and participate in the realization of the crew's demands and suggestions of last July and social agreements of August 1980. At the same time, the union will reject any activities incompatible with the interests of the working people, the nation, and the policies of our socialist state.

The union delineated directions of its activities in the areas of employment, wages, safety, cultural-educational work, afterwork leisure time, living conditions and benefits, and environmental protection as well as declared its future participation in any and all consultations and decisionmaking actions with regard to wage and price changes.

The union assumed the role of a mediator in all conflicts and matters in the plant including a decisionmaking authority with regard to strike.

#### Union Structures Outside Plants

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by M. Borowiecka]

[Text] The number of trade unions in enterprises is on the rise, including agricultural manufacturing and service enterprises. Our voivodship has approximately 150 such enterprises and in 76 of these trade union organizations were registered by the end of March 1983.

Although the degree of unionization of particular enterprises is not the same, with each week the number of white spots on the Polish agriculture's union map decreases. For example, out of 33 enterprises in the Association of State Farm Enterprises [PPGR] 30 already have union organizations, while in 24 elections have been carried out. In other state enterprises (including, among others, cattle breeding and the Seed Sales Center) in the same period of time 13 trade unions were registered out of 24 units. In 56 agricultural circle cooperatives there were 16 active unions, in agricultural technical service centers 11 (out of 17 units), in agricultural construction enterprises--3 (out of 10 units), and in agricultural land reclamation and water supply enterprises--the smallest in number--there were 3 out of 7 units. One can argue whether it is much or little, but there is no need to do that. There is an urgent need, however, to get involved in many issues, which are important both for the enterprises, fulfilling their tasks in the conditions of economic reform, and their crews. This problem was discussed recently at a consultative meeting, called at the initiative of the enterprise union board at the State Farms [PGR] Combine in Byczyna and attended by chairmen of the union boards and union founding committees from enterprises in which such organizations were not yet officially authorized.

There are many problems requiring attention to ensure that the enterprises manage to follow the play rules of the reform and their crews concentrate their efforts on basic tasks without worrying about their living conditions and benefits. Some of these, such as for example,

years-neglected housing construction, are particularly difficult. This problem cannot be overstated considering the fact that more than 50 percent of PGR housing was constructed before the war and that many apartments do not offer dissent living conditions to the employee and his family. And the state economy, suffering for years from shortages of housing--which was being forgotten even during development of big production enterprises--does not guarantee an influx of new employees.

The result is that the production investments do not bring the envisaged profit, because the attempts to overcome the deficiencies in housing by busing employees--often from afar--to the breeding farms not only increase the production costs, but create an unstable work force, which is not appreciated by the animals. Not just them of course. The soil also better rewards those who know it well and are attached to it. By means of... an apartment, for example.

To conclude a discussion of this critical issue, which is of particular concern to the employees of the PGR combines in Brzeg, Niemodlin, Byczyna, Nieradowice, Grodkow, Fraczkow, and in many other locations, let us repeat after a union officer from a garden combine that in Grudynia the housing problems led this year to a considerable delay in clearing a garden of no less than 600 ha.

There is a legitimate concern that this kind of problems as well as other troubles in living conditions and terms and conditions of employment cannot be resolved by even the most active union organization in an enterprise if it acts alone. This concern, among others, led the meeting participants to come up with the idea of creating supraplant union structures.

The bill on trade unions envisages such a possibility. The union members in the agricultural manufacturing and service enterprises were the first ones in the voivodship to take advantage of such an opportunity. We must secure more grains and at the same time make sure that the prices of grains are compatible with the prices of industrial goods--suggested the discussants, among others.

The meeting participants were convinced that it is necessary to create supraplant union structures in order to have a body which could be consulted by the political-economic authorities in matters important to agriculture and people working in that sector with regard to prices and other issues.

There is only one step from an idea to a decision to create such structures in order to make the union action more effective. Although no decision has been made the growth of union organizations in agricultural manufacturing and service enterprises indicates such a necessity.

At this point, the meeting participants elected a group of a dozen or so persons who will be involved in the affairs of agricultural enterprises and their crews in the framework of the Informational-Consulting Team



for the Affairs of the Trade Unions at the WRN. It was decided that the said team will concern itself with the following: (a) assistance to founding committees in establishing union activities; (b) providing information and advice on supra-plant union structures; (c) organization of consultations with the state administrative and economic organs in matters covered by the bill on trade unions and the decree of the Council of ministers; (d) organization of consultations and forms of cooperation between union organizations in agricultural manufacturing and service enterprises and councils of their associations; and (e) organization of consultations and forms of cooperation between the enterprise union organizations and the emerging structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Let us add that the team established a few days ago for the affairs of agricultural enterprises may become an initiative group, which would constitute the beginning of another stage in building the union movement.

#### Party Groups at Compact Car Plant

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Jozef Heblinski]

[Text] "In order to make their work more efficient and better organized the basic party organizations may be divided into party groups in accordance with their affiliation with a given production area. The group will be headed by a group leader elected by its members."

"Last year the Compact Car Plant [FSM] manufactured 157,000 of Polish Fiats 126p with the work force of 30,000 employees. This means that each statistical employee manufactures just 5 cars." My visit to FSM was not accidental. I wanted to hear comments about the above statements from the party rank and file there. I learned three truths from the workers' voices.

Truth I: Quantity is the most important, but what about quality? There are 15 department party organizations in the FSM Tychy. Formally they are divided into three party groups. This is what comrade Ryszard Borek, secretary of the PZPR Enterprise Committee, has to say about the work of the activities of the department party organizations [OOP], which are really active in seven departments only.

Production is the most important task--that statement was repeated by many party group leaders during my visit at FSM. This is because the size of car production is of fundamental importance to the entire financial system of the plant. It so happened that among my interlocutors there were several comrades employed in the quality control services. My talks with them put in sharp focus the priority of quantity over quality.

Comrade January Cieplinski, foreman in the varied treatment quality control department and party group leader, stated that the problem of production quality will be solved by the comprehensive automated quality control system purchased from the Italian Fiat and which is being currently installed in the plant. "It must be brought into the open that the party group has limited opportunities for action. Workers point out a problem, which is already known and repeated ad infinitum. Frequently the source of the problem lies outside of our plant."

Thus, while everybody talks about quality with great concern, FSM has a successful system, called a deficiency chart, which is a form of legalizing the deficiencies recorded during production process. As my interlocutors noted, these deficiencies do not endanger the car driver.

Comrade Zdzislaw Nawrocki, party group leader at the casting department, noted that one of the reasons responsible for unfavorable economic relations in the plant is the languishing of the suggestion movement in FSM. "Nothing is being done in this area despite the fact that people want technical improvements in their work. This is a necessity, in fact, because we lack various tools and spare parts to machines and equipment. We make them here. For example, fasteners for the Bosch electric tools were made in the tool economics department. Disks for angle grinding machines were also made there. Such actions undertaken by workers' collectives are a good example to others. It is not enough today, however. The best means for overcoming many difficulties that we encounter is a clear system of material incentives, which we lack. If the quantity of production has a real priority here then it must be accompanied by a system of activities on the part of administration to awaken among the people a proper suggestion movement."

Comrade Edward Ulman, foreman in the engine assembly quality control department, views the problem of production quantity differently: "People working on our assembly lines that they must count on themselves and sometimes on workers' collectives to resolve the problems popping up. Party groups are hardly visible in the production process; perhaps, they do not want to duplicate the existing plant services. These services are after all responsible for maintaining continuous production. This is not always so because of the critical situation in the entire economy, including the enterprises cooperating with us."

Truth II: Coproducers are not the only ones who are guilty. The Compact Car Plant is the final manufacturer of automobiles. Of the several thousands of all kind of parts and details necessary to assemble a car a considerable number is manufactured by coproducers.

Comrade Ewa Buhl, party group leader in the material control department, emphasized that the issue of coproduction had been discussed at many OOP meetings but without visible success. "The supplies from outside cover many important parts and yet the coproducers give us what they want. Sometimes, they do not meet the quality requirements. This creates a dilemma: Should they be sent back or used in production? As a rule the

latter eventuality wins. This exemplifies the priority of quantity over quality. For example, steel sheets for car bumpers come from the Lenin Steel Works and they are usually second-rate. This impacts on the quality of the final production. Does it mean that we should manufacture a certain number of cars without the faulty parts? Similar situation exists in the body production due to poor quality of the steel sheets supplied. In our judgement they do not meet the requirements. They easily crack and we select the best sheets from each shipment." Is that how it should be, ask the workers in direct conversations.

Comrade Barbara Urbanek, party group leader in the shipment quality control department, joined our conversation and added the following: "To take some of the heat off the coproducers I have to say that I had to intervene once with regard to doors in cars produced for exports. They were coming from the Welding Shop with a welding stripe on them. Telephone interventions of our employees led nowhere. Finally they turned to me as the party group leader. I called the manager of the Welding Shop and confronted him with the problem. He promised to take care of it. Soon we found out that my intervention was successful."

The quality of shipments from coproducers is a problem that can be described as a vicious circle of impotence. When tracing the source of deficiencies in particular units it becomes apparent they are caused by raw materials and goods and products are made of. And there hard currency is the insurmountable barrier and thus we manufacture from what is available to us. That answer, which is frequently given by coproducers, must--unfortunately--satisfy the receipts. However, this custom backfires later in the subsequent phases of production and assembly. In the final outcome this leads to the so-called "deficiency chart."

#### Truth III: Most Demands From Professionals

Party groups, established for the purpose of improving organization of labor, do not always find a proper field for action. Comrades from FSM Tychy almost unanimously agree that in their plant the organization of labor must be handled by top-notch professionals, not by party groups.

Comrade Janusz Bak, party group leader in the Chief Dispatcher Office, was more precise. If the plants earn their reputations by general ability and competence of their professional staffs, then, in his opinion, the basic duty of the members of a party group ought to be individual influence on an employee. Often a friendly talk or an explanation to an employee what he did wrong and how it could be done better is as persuasive as a system of incentives. So far people seem to believe that they ought to work efficiently for 8 hours per day. This is, however, a result of economic necessity rather than of a conscious discipline.

The living conditions of the crew are equally important sphere of interest on the part of a party group. Comrade Urbanek cited specific examples: "I was approached one on the question of meat ration coupons.

In Quality Control we work as hourlies, but we get ration cards for salaried. I was asked as the party group leader to intervene in this matter. While it took some time and effort, I was able to resolve the situation to the employees' satisfaction.

One cannot say that the work of the party groups in FSM Tychy has reached the proper level yet. Comrades from the plant party organization realize that themselves. They have to work in difficult conditions. The plant and its crew have lost priorities that had been won earlier. Being a part of the crew, comrades from the party groups take on problems that they can resolve. There is, however, another big area of problems, which impacts on unfavorable economic relations, but it is hard to delineate here simple relations between the functioning of an enterprise and activity on the basic level of party work. It is hard, but it ought to be done. There is no other way if the responsibility for themselves and others is taken seriously.

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## PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

## PRON Role in Organizations, Associations

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] In Warsaw on 6 April meetings of representatives of social organizations were held, which declared their acceptance of PRON. The course and proposals resulting from the pregress movement for national rebirth, and against this background, the possibilities for increasing social activity through organizations and institutions participating in PRON were evaluated.

At the meeting, which was led by vice-chairman of TRK [Provisional National Council] PRON, vice-marshal of the Sejm, Jerzy Ozdowski, there was deliberation on ways of strengthening the social-educational role of PRON. Characterizing the course of the pregress discussion of the national rebirth movement, J. Ozdowski stated that the major programmatic assumptions of the movement presented in the drafts of the declaration and of the statutory principles are accepted. At general meetings and community meetings many proposals for corrections to these documents as well as petitions concerning the future activity of PRON were announced simultaneously. Attention was given to the need for increasing PRON's activity among youth, in the creative arts and intellectual communities and in work enterprises. Socioeducational opportunities of organizations working with PRON were stressed.

It was indicated that in the draft of the PRON declaration currently under discussion it is necessary to more strongly and more precisely stress the matters of shaping civic attitudes, culture, and education of children and youth. It was emphasized that the joint participation of youth in the stimulation of social activity is imperative. Attention was given to the educational function of the family.

The task of the rebirth movement, it was stated, is the introduction of a dialogue in the spirit of humanism, tolerance, and respect of the value of the person as well as of the values of the entire nation and the state. Also important is counteracting signs of pathology, the direction of social attention toward the problems of handicapped persons, invalids, and all those whose lot has been the worst during the crisis.

## Czestochowa Province PRON Congress

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by B.U.: "Winning Support for the Cause of Rebirth"]

[Text] Creation of conditions for achieving full social approval for the cause of rebirth and concern for straightforward and comprehensive presentation of public opinion were the leading topics of the meeting of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON in Czestochowa. Friday's meeting (8 April) ended the programs-elections campaign in the Czestochowa region before the First National Congress of PRON. Besides the members of the Provisional Provincial Council and the delegates to the congress elected in the cities and gminas, the following took part in the meeting: member of the Presidium of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, Dr Wieslaw Nowicki, first secretary KW PZPR in Czestochowa, Wladyslaw Jonkisz, chairman of WK [Voivodship Committee] ZSL [United Peasants' Party] Tadeusz Panek, vice-chairman WK SD [Democratic Party] Mieczyslaw Zyzny. Also present were chairman of WRN [People's Provincial Council] Zdzislaw Soluch, Czestochowa Governor Grzegorz Lipowski, and plenipotentiary KOK Col (academy graduate) Eugeniusz Ruson. Representatives of the remaining signers of PRON from the voivodship organizations of PAX, ChSS and PZKS also came.

A report evaluating the course of the pregress campaign was given by chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON in Czestochowa, Prof Kazimierz Moszoro. Between 4 February of this year and April, the ranks of the rebirth movement considerably increased. In almost 200 units of PRON, more than 6,500 citizens are working in the Czestochowa region. At the National Congress, 34 participants will represent the region, among them four members of the Provisional Provincial Council.

During yesterday's meetings it was decided by a vote that Prof Kazimierz Moszoro, chairman of TRW, Krystyna Kononowicz, vice-chairman of TRW, Jozef Krzak, chairman of OKON in the Bierut metallurgical works and Andrzej Swiderski will continue to represent the voivodship in the Provisional National Council of PRON. During the meeting, a communication on the trade organization of the Bierut metalworkers joining the national rebirth movement was read.

In the discussion, views on the topic of the tasks which the movement still has to fulfill before the congress were presented, and opinions concerning the future of PRON were mentioned, acknowledging as most important the building of the movement's authority through involvement in the solution of the problems close to all people, a bold but at the same time thoughtful presentation to the authorities of public opinion.

The future of the country, the need for constant work on the moral rebirth of the nation, and the fight against crisis phenomena were carefully discussed.

The congress evaluated positively the course of the pregress campaign. The expansion of the ranks of participants and sympathizers of the movement, the

vitalizing of the activity of PRON units, and the popularization of the essence and principles of the movement's activity were acknowledged as the most important achievement. The participants in the congress supported, in the declaration, the resolution written by the Provisional National Council condemning the revisionist speech of FRG Minister Zimmermann. Efforts which TRW will implement in the region in the near future were also specified.

#### Variegated Unity in PRON at Opole

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by W.P.: "PRON - Variegated Unity"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Voivodship Committee of the SD met and evaluated the role of SD activists in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Also discussed was the draft of the PRON declaration and factors which may in the future influence the effectiveness of the activity of the movement.

In a several-hour, multifaceted discussion led by WK chairman Stanislaw Suchodolski, delegates to the Voivodship Congress of PRON and local activists of the movement invited to the meeting from various of the Opole area participated. Jozef Perniok from Kluczbork spoke of the need for seeing to it that PRON, in inspiring national councils to action, does not turn into a stand-in for these social bodies. Zbigniew Osekowski from Brzeg stated that in the declaration of the movement too little space is devoted to the education of the young generation and the role of youth organizations. He also proposed that PRON congresses be held every three years, and suggested that the problem of growing social demoralization be considered as one of the most important topics of the movement's activity. Zdzislaw Sapek from Kedzierzyn-Kozle said that in the programmatic documents of PRON the persistent advocacy of the movement for reform, not only of economic structures, should be clearly stated, this guaranteeing the permanency of the positive changes in our country. PRON should, as widely as possible, link itself to the Polish tradition of mobilization and uniting of society in periods of particular threats, said one dissident.

The participants, among which were vice-chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council, Stanislaw Smolen, stressed that the ideals of the movement are linked with the thoughts contained in the contribution of the Twelfth Congress of SD and constitute one of the programmatic rules of action for Democratic Party members.

#### Speeches at Opole PRON Congress

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 3

[Articles by Marek Karp, Nina Kracherowa, Bronislas Paszkowski, Josef Szczupal: "High Time to Act Intelligently and Jointly"]

[Text] When today at 9:45, the first voivodship congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth begins its meetings in Opole, among the local delegates of PRON units representing, in the conference hall of the Voivodship Office, various social and trade communities and various generations, party members and nonparty members will be able to meet as will activists with long experience in social activity, and also young people just coming into the sphere of social work.

On the day before the congress we asked a few of them, representatives of various generations of Poles, who in PRON see a chance to improve the republic, about the motives behind their social activity and about the hopes which exist now and for the future with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Their answers are published on page 3.

Today the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth Meets in Opole

Jan Copiak---sales specialist of the Cement-Limestone Plants Gorazdze:

I am only 30 years old; I cannot boast, like others, of long years of experience in social activity. I began in 1980 as a vice-chairman of Solidarity in the plant. After 13 December 1981, I was an active member of the plant social commission. After the lifting of martial law, I joined OKON. Currently, I am a member of the administration of the new trade unions in our enterprises. Recently, I took part in the National Council of Worker Activists in Warsaw. One could say, "What a jump." However, for me Solidarity was one thing, and the extremist group tearing it from the basic idea of an independent and autonomous union, which gained for Solidarity so many followers, was something else. Being with people every day, I do not see anything strange in the fact that vital day-to-day matters blind workers to big politics. Today, human concerns are politics for everyone, from the bottom to the top, from the family to the government.

The crew of our plants are not avoiding PRON, though it would be hard to say we are playing a massive role. People have stopped believing. We have seen more than one bitter disappointment. There are "yes" attitudes, "no" attitudes, and "we'll see" attitudes. I have contact with people every day and I know that it is necessary to regain social confidence. This is the task for trade unions and for PRON. I think that PRON will perhaps not create but at least will find a way of vitalizing social activity. People are not concerned about big state matters. They are concerned with getting rid of what bothers them the most.

Here are a couple of specific examples from our Gogolin. For 10 years the school building stood deteriorating, and the children go to school in shifts. For 10 years, the authorities did nothing about it. We started something. An investor was found and there is hope that in 2 years the school will be restored. PRON also took in hand the difficult matter of a hospital in our city. I live in Kamienie and I am vice-chairman of the village council. We



wanted to put up a building there for youth but for now the gmina authorities are not sympathetic toward this. Youth from the village do not have a place to meet, the village women do not have a place to display their beautiful pisanki [painted eggs]. I am not an advocate of social volunteer work in the old style. However, I feel that every plant could delegate a few craftsmen where they seem necessary. I have in mind people from the construction branch.

When will things be good? Things will be good when everyone, without exception, will look at the world through the doors of their own well kept apartment and will consistently aim at their surroundings--street, town square, or village--being as well maintained as their house, both inside and out. Then things will be good. However, the local authorities should present people with the arguments for their activity.

PRON does not exist to double for the authorities or teach them. However, we see our field of activity very broadly linked to society through work. Let's leave great slogans aside, let's do what we consider necessary in our backyard. Then everything should be good.

It would be a lie for someone to say that in spite of everything in our society good will has died out. My frequent contacts with people allow me to say that people want truth first of all. Lower level authorities should tell the government the truth and the government should be concrete in actions. That is how people see things at present.

There are no barriers to everyone joining PRON, whether they are from Solidarity or from trade branches. I myself am an example of an authority wanting cooperation. But I also remember that when Solidarity existed and people rebelled because of a lack of food, I, the whole time cooperating with the Plant Committee PZPR, was arranging along with the secretary what could be arranged. The effect was such that people started to say: "If the party wants to do something, it can." Under those conditions it was a very cynical statement because everyone knew that everyone wanted things but no one was able to get them. Between the great slogans and an empty plate was a huge gap.

Returning to PRON, however, I feel that this movement may fill the role of liason between the village administration and the government. That means that we may at least be able in an honest way to handle all our matters, and there are lots of them.

Adela Janik--for over 30 years a sorter in the sewing room of the Prudnik Shoe Factory:

When PRON started to organize, I did not really believe that anything would come of it. I thought, like a lot of people, that there would be a lot of noise, and later everything would get stuck and nothing could be done. Because people said different things about it, that it was only for show, that it was all directed and set up from the top. But in the plant a small group of people started up who wanted to try to do something themselves. Duty shifts were established in the plant. We walked around the departments, we

conversed, we asked people what was bothering them, and what kind of problems there were. As usual, there was no shortage of problems. We ourselves know them very well. Sometimes alone, sometimes together with others, we tried to work something out.

Persons in a particularly difficult situation were given aid; the plant set up five apartment booklets [accounts] for orphaned children. This of course is not solely the work of PRON, but we feel we had a part in this and we have our satisfaction from helping others. People came, they announced their housing problems, their low salaries, and the poor supply at the plant's kiosk. This last matter has improved considerably.

Most important for the plant at present is expansion. It is very crowded. We are sitting on each other's laps; production and people suffer from this. There are opportunities for solving the problems, but for now they are foggy. In the sewing room, we have very low wages. For now, walking around and asking for things is not getting results, but we believe that this too can be worked out. Everything can be taken care of; it is only necessary to want to and to act together.

I was at the organizational meeting when the provisional city-gmina council of PRON was established. There was an atmosphere of doubt and disbelief among people, but slowly everything is turning, many people became involved, they are joining in the working out of urgent matters in the city--cleanups, repairs, improvement in trade. Everyone is upset at trade because there are shortages. But where do you get something from when there is nothing there. Much is being said about what PRON should take up, whether large affairs or minor complaints. Large or small, it is most important that they be those matters which bother people, and which must be corrected.

In Prudnik, straightening out bars is a must. There is nothing but dives. People talk about drunkenness and the bad habits of youth, but where are young people to go if they want to sit in a quiet place, converse, drink a soft drink or coffee? Everywhere there is alcohol and a cheap bar atmosphere. Once there was an alcohol-free cafe for youth, but now there is a joint there, too.

PRON gives opportunities to everyone who wants to do something. Party member or believer, it is important that this and that one can work together, as can individuals and organizations, and institutions. That is the only way for things to be more peaceful and better.

Jozef Koskiewicz--delegate to the Voivodship Conference from a branch of the Permanent City-Gmina [Parish] Council in Zawadzki:

He says that in his opinion the popularization of PRON ideas may as a consequence lead the country out of the crisis economic and morally regenerate society. He believes in this as an activist and experienced person, who has seen much in life. And he has, after all, lived through times more difficult than those which have befallen our society at present. "During the war, I

served as a soldier in the Second Division of the Polish army, and my battle trail went from the Vistula to the Elbe. I was always in the first line, in the storm-troopers. After the war, until 1947, I continued to fight as a soldier for the establishment of people's authority. After demobilization, I began work as a physical laborer in Lower Silesia and in the Mazurian region. At that time, it was difficult for me and for all of us--with food, housing, clothing. But our demands were more modest. These years hardened me, so to speak, and since then I have not been afraid of any hardships. In 1966, I came to Zawadzki where I have been working until now at the metallurgical works as a foreman. For a number of years, I have been chairman of the Administration of the ZBoWiD Circle in Zawadzki. I have tried all these years to work dilligently for the plant. Actually, the majority of my coworkers always performs its trade duties honestly. Unfortunately, errors committed in the past in politics, and also, let's admit honestly, the consumer attitude toward life of part of society, especially the young, led to an economic crisis from which it is difficult for us to emerge. I have spoken many times in the past on improprieties in economic policy. After August, seeing how great the danger was in the activity of the extreme forces in Solidarity, I expressed this publicly many times. I was not liked for this by people who uncritically went along with everything that Solidarity proposed. So, when martial law dammed up forces able to lead our country to a political collapse, I decided, as a cofounder of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth in Zawadzki, to join, in my community, in activity for saving the Republic. I always repeat that it is easy to lose the fatherland, but difficult to get it back. And a second principle of mine which I use in my work every day is to value the good of the state like your own good. Our OKON which was the inspiration on which the Provisional City-Gmina Council of PRON was constituted last year, always set itself concrete goals to realize. I filled the function of chairman of OKON, and until recently of TRM-G PRON. To it I attached hopes for working out many particular local community problems. Neither I nor any of the other activists of PRON here wanted or want now to play big politics, but wanted to serve our community in the city and gmina. It seems to me that we have done much work already, for example, with people needing care, improvement of the activity of trade and service centers, and working out problems for agricultural producers. In working out these seemingly minor matters, I see now and for the future the goal and sense of activity of PRON units. And there is an unusually large number of tasks to complete. I will mention, for example, the need to draw youth to social work; it is necessary to convince them of this at an earlier age. All of our efforts will be ineffective, however, if we do not learn as a nation to respect our state and common property, and do not develop a real respect for work.

Jozef Kocaj, 30-year old from Piotrowka in Jemielnica Gmina, recently became involved in social activity:

He says that there really is nothing about him to write in the newspaper. He has been chairman of the Provisional Gmina Council of PRON for a few months, and election to the position was a complete surprise for him. All the more that he has only been living in Piotrowka a few years. Earlier, as a teacher of practical science, he worked with youth in Strzelce and Opole. Of course, he liked social work but in Piotrowka for a long time he did not have time for it. Because after all he had to get a metal shop going, begin repair on a house, and his children are still small, as with a man his age. When he was

given this responsible social position, however, he decided not to disappoint the confidence in him. Problems are usually many--a health center not completed, many hectares of grassland await reclamation, social activity in the gmina is rather weak... Sometimes you do not know where to start. But it is high time to get to work and start something. Kocaj is counting on everything going well, and minor setbacks cannot influence the final result. He says that a person cannot refuse to give aid to another person. This person, in turn, cannot as a member of society refuse to help. PRON units are the best form of directing and organizing this work. Today, they can work out many local community matters, tomorrow unite, around itself, a considerable part of society, which after all wants to emerge from the crisis as quickly as possible. PRON then is the best opportunity to realize today's social dreams for our nation.

Jan Pawleta, farmer from Folwark in Proszkow Gmina:

As if to ignore the process of reform which came to the countryside a little earlier, one conclusion emerges: at every step you meet barriers which seem insurmountable. People out in the country feel this the most, and farmers especially. It is true that the time for reforming the economy is not the most favorable, that the crisis and rather complicated international situation hinder it. But it is also true that looking for the easy way out we are earning for ourselves the reputation of a begging society, as if forgetting along the way honor, ambition, and what is sadder, this has started to happen in the Opole region of Silesia where there is a long tradition of good work.

The more than 2-year period just passed was an occasion for partial elimination of irregularities occurring in many areas of social life which are decided first of all by people and conditions. Removing the people was easiest. The most stubborn or least understanding had to go. Has everyone gone? I think not yet. And it will be necessary to make further changes, so that everywhere it will be understood who is to serve whom. Even the best resolutions will not be properly realized if a conviction of their correctness is not backing them.

Conditions are a second significant problem. I think that they too will change as a favorable climate arises. And that is the essence of my PRON activity--creating, along with others, that climate. At present, the movement is going through a period of broad programmatic discussion. Society awaits the results of the current discussion on solving specific matters, on whether the patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will be a formal organization or a vital social movement of loose forms of activity or autonomous units reflecting society's problems in their work, and also by how PRON will fit into the political system of the PRL and what will be its status. All this will be decided by the Congress. The present draft of the statute has many weak aspects and unclear statements. I think that its final version will be completed with corrections made by all the units of the movement.

Personally declaring my role and affiliation with PRON, I stipulated one thing: when field work intensifies, no one will see me at the meetings. Today we need not talk but work. If I ever had the occasion to talk with General

Jaruzelski or even a minister of labor and wages, I would ask if they know how many work hours are lost every day on different kinds of dull discussions. Have they calculated the cost in concrete goods and zlotys? That is why the PRON program should be a clear statement and not demand additional explanatory meetings, or even educational meetings.

People want peace in our country. The PRON idea has to be its guarantee. But as a farmer, I would also like to have guarantees of agricultural stability, and opportunities of running production at a proper level. Not so long ago on 16 hectares I ran a specialized farm on which I fattened 180 pigs by a semi-industrial system. Now I have only 18 of them and I feed them like my grandfather and great-grandfather did. This year, too, I will sow and plant almost everything myself. Maybe this situation speaks for itself.

#### Area of Understanding [Article by Michal Lis]

I accept as a sure thing that the great majority of Poles in A.D. 1983 knows that we must get ourselves out of our deepest crisis.

With few exceptions everyone also knows that as seldom before, the condition for working out a lasting program for a more peaceful future is an actual and not just declared understanding of several basic matters determined both by external and domestic imperatives. Basically, they boil down to one necessary condition which must be accepted. This condition is the demand for realizing that Poland at this time and in this place can be only a socialist state.

If that is how things are, then the question arises as to why the program of understanding contained in the PRON declaration not caused a change in the pulse of the nation's social life.

It seems to me that the basic cause of the less than expected involvement of broad masses of society in activities defined by the PRON declaration is the involvement of the program contained in the declaration in everyday life. I am afraid that the basic values mentioned in the declaration do not always apply to everyday life.

It seems to me that the basic cause of the less than expected involvement of broad masses of society in activities defined by the PRON declaration is the involvement of the program contained in the declaration in everyday life. I am afraid that the basic values mentioned in the declaration do not always apply to everyday life.

This is important if we become aware that contrary to OKON as a broader expanse PRON originated from higher level initiative of the signers. Therefore, in the social expectation of a large part of the citizens, it is understood to be an offer by the forces in authority vis-a-vis society, in practice, therefore, as a type of test to which society may subject the authorities on the level of the program contained in the declaration.

So, it is generally known that it is one thing to offer such primary values as social justice, people's authority, law and order, respect for human dignity, for work as a basic criterion of the value of a person, and another thing

to guarantee their realization to such an extent so as not to, in each individual case, cause doubts, or at least not to cause great doubts.

This is very difficult in the current situation of the political fight muffled by the rigors of suspended martial law, the burdens of economic reform felt for now mainly as a rise in the cost of living, or finally by the still unchanged treatment of the person by very many institutions.

And PRON units, let's say honestly, for now, are concentrating mainly on long-term matters. This follows at least in part from all the enumerations about the movement transmitted mainly orally by the activists themselves. To the question of what they are doing, we hear about health, trade, housing, pensions, culture, cleanups, etc.

What does this result from? From many things. From a basic lack which is the still insufficient realization of the socialist base of rebirth contained in the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR on levels which constitute a direct connection with everyday life, and from shortages being a result of the initial stage of the movement itself when there was not yet time for such activity, which would appear as an expanse of what the movement has to be, that is, a platform of political life.

Certain deficiencies in activity cannot be avoided. Basic ones must, however, be eliminated at once. Among such I feel is inadequate reckoning with the legal-governmental order of the state. In the situation of the existence of representative bodies I consider relieving the national councils and the Sejm in their constitutional authority and duties to be a misunderstanding. And tendencies toward such actions are obvious at all levels of PRON. I am afraid that this serves neither understanding nor stabilization of life.

Neither units nor activists can replace organizations and institutions in our country which are already certainly overdeveloped and which have, as a goal, seeing that order is observed, or that the tasks assigned to them are fulfilled. They simply cannot replace anyone in his work.

In order for the movement to become an authentic level in the rebirth of political life, it must become a social expression of basic matters, that is, those which will guarantee the anticipated direction of rebirth, of socialist rebirth. Such basic conditions are generally thought to be the return to the trade unions of a proper role. It seems to me that PRON is not devoting appropriate attention to this problem. The same goes for self-governing bodies.

The point is not at all the so called discussed problems, but concrete activity. Is this at all possible today? Certainly, but it requires not only the work of activists from the ranks, but first of all of the authorities. But at the top these matters have sort of quieted down. We do not hear too much, for instance, that the decisions in the matter of prices, for example, be agreed upon with the trade unions, about which it is written another time that they are acting in almost all workplants. This concerns not only prices, but very many areas of life which demand consulting with society for its opinion. One cannot pretend that in such situations, the work of specialized cells for studying social opinion, etc., is being utilized.



I give these examples to make you aware that the condition of PRON's success as a platform of political life understood as leading to social understanding must be solely the work of its activists. This condition is really the realization of the earlier stated broadly understood rebirth.

I think also (at least I interpret the voices in the discussion about PRON to say) that it would be necessary to aim at a more adequate name for the movement, from the view of its permanence in the life of the country. Doubts are raised by the term "rebirth," this term, in its essence, means something transitional. It cannot be an ongoing process. It would be even worse if it implied repetition. Therefore, I propose, that the voivodship conference consider a modification of the name of the movement along the lines of the Patriotic National Movement.

#### A Difficult Beginning [Article by Edward Pochron]

Today's first voivodship congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Opole ends an important stage in the development of this new social movement in our region.

Looking at this stage from the statistical aspect, it is necessary to say that the pregress stage contributed to the organizational expansion of PRON structures. At this time, the gmina, city-gmina, and city councils of PRON function in all basic administrative units (aside from Zebowice Gmina). Also, new units have been started in many villages and work enterprises. The social base of the movement has been broadened; many organizations and individuals have joined it.

One cannot, however, close one's eyes to the fact that not everywhere has the idea of a Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth met with favorable response, that there are still many doubts, concerns, and suspicions. It is known that enemy foreign centers of propaganda are leading an intense and systematic campaign, launching the thesis that this is a movement which is to serve the political and state authorities for the pacification of society, for creating a semblance of support for its actions. From foreign Polish language radio stations, indiscriminate attacks on PRON are flowing constantly. Also, the native political opposition, which cannot accept its defeat and the undeniable signs of stabilization of the situation in Poland, in all ways undermine the authenticity of the movement, and disavow the activists, who in the name of the primary civic interest, have the courage to undertake efforts for constructive understanding and national rebirth.

Often, these attacks fall on fertile ground. A hurting society, beset with the many problems of the economic crisis, the frustration of some groups which are unable to recover in the new situation since 13 December, the frustration of many evaluations and value choices, all this causes the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, with many difficulties, to work its way into the general civic consciousness.

Of course, the more impatient activists get nervous in such a situation. Still, it is necessary to agree with those who feel that these difficulties in growth



will end up for the good of the movement. Simply, being under the careful and critical observation of enemies, indifferent and silent sympathizers, it has opportunities of avoiding the errors and weaknesses which were part of, for example, the Front for National Unity; it must work out such principles, areas and forms of activity which guarantee it authenticity, strength and efficiency.

The discussion led during the election-programs campaign showed that the drafts of the declaration and statutory principles presented by the Provisional National Council of PRON gained the general acceptance of the basic elements of the movement. The basic ideological-programs principles of PRON were not questioned which does not mean that individual comments concerning particular formulas and emphases were not made. Not going into details it can be said that these comments and proposals concern the guarantees protecting the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth from the danger of ostentation, assuring it an appropriate place in the functioning of our political system. They result from the understandable fears of the repetition of errors which led the country to a political and economic crisis. So, for example, in Glogowek, the suggestion was made that the extent and principles of joint action with PRON lead to the resolutions already announced or being prepared which regulate the functioning of the widely-understood system of socialist democracy. There it was stipulated that membership in PRON be based on the criterion of individual democracy which will guarantee greater effectiveness of the activities of the movement. In Kedzierzyn-Kozle, specific designation of the extent of the competence and authority of PRON in the area of the functioning of the administration and state authorities was also demanded. In Opole, the suggestion was accepted that in the declaration the formulation that the movement in a certain sense is organized public opinion be replaced by stronger wording, namely, that the movement is in the full sense of the work organized public opinion, because actually it should fully represent the opinion of citizens, which is in agreement with the interests of our socialist state.

In all communities, very much attention was given to problems of youth. The view that the young generation should be treated as an integral part of society and that appropriate conclusions be drawn from this predominated, and thus the opinion not to adulate youth, not to promise golden mountains, but to create conditions for authentic joint participation in building our own future and that of all of society.

It is a natural thing that in the discussion of the basic units of PRON, predominating were the problems directly connected with the life of the local communities, and the role of the movement in this life. The community evaluates the activity of councils and units of PRON, not according to declarations, but according to concrete actions. It was not strange then that at most of the conferences, specific activities for the cities and gminas were mentioned. The need for a rebirth of social volunteer work which considering the restricted budgetary resources can solve many local problems in the area of municipal economy, health protection, and education was discussed. Almost everywhere, the control of the functioning of the local administration, and the work of the centers meeting the everyday needs of the citizens were considered an important task. Also universal was the stipulation of the activation of national councils and councilmen. In many centers the practice of close joint activity of PRON units with the commissions and national councils were generally accepted.

The end stage of the programs-elections campaign of PRON made the majority of the activists and members aware that much work and effort still awaits them before the movement gains the full right of citizenship in society, that despite official declarations they will also meet with the opposition of some local authorities vis-a-vis PRON as an authentic partner and spokesman or organized civic opinion, that they must break the understandable mistrust, frustrations of considerable circles of fellow citizens. Still, a beginning, though difficult and without universal acclaim, has been made.

#### Lublin PRON Programs-Elections Conference

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Chrom: "PRON City Conference in Lublin. The Need for Concrete Action"]

[Text] In Saturday's edition of the paper we wrote about the course of the meetings of the City Programs-Elections Conference of PRON in Lublin. We informed you, by necessity in abbreviated form, since because of the late ending of Friday's debate we were short of time and space for developing the problems pointed out.

Let's reiterate--the city conference was preceded by the campaign in the basic structures of the rebirth movement in our city--in 46 city-district, residential-community, group and plant elements. One hundred thirteen delegates were elected who came to the city forum to relay the opinions of their communities, share their experiences from PRON activity, point out opportunities for broadening work, and gain new allies and activists. So, the Friday conference became an expanse for an exchange of views, the recording of achievements and failures, a place for searching for solutions for the future.

In a several-hour discussion, 18 delegates and members of TMR [Provisional City Section Council] of PRON spoke. They were: Ewa Zukowska, Krzysztof Toronczyk, Stanislaw Postepski, Janusz Wojcik, Zygmunt Machnikowski, Piotr Witkowski, Henryka Wojcik, Czeslaw Orlowski, Zbigniew Michalowski, Janusz Marek, Janina Kostarz, Wanda Kotun, Miroslaw Kaleciak, Piotr Centkiewicz, Tymoteusz Grudzien, Jozef Kosinski, Andrzej Kosinski, and Ryszard Wawrzekiewicz. First of all, two basic problems were circulated--the role of the rebirth movement in our society, its meaning in the present and future functioning of the socialist state--and so first of all theoretical matters so to speak, and the ideology of the young movement, and secondly--in concrete matters of the achievements on the city and district level, in which activities PRON becomes closer to the populace, becomes credible in their eyes and gains new followers.

Let's mention a few opinions on this first group of problems. Andrzej Kosinski, vice-chairman, TMR of PRON, delegate from Czechow, said "our movement must constitute a forum for presenting various opinions. There is a place in it also for those who in the period of the crisis got lost, became passive and distrusting... The large differentiation of society is a fact, but PRON should and does direct by principles of tolerance, and professes the principle of partnership and thus of equal rights of each of the participants."

It was emphasized that the goal standing before PRON is the integration of society, the return of social trust and the road to that leads through the deeper knowledge of the principles of socialist democracy.

Opinions given on the subject of the role of youth in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth sounded bitter. "In the course of creating the bases of PRON, was attracting youth by chance forgotten?" asked Ewa Zukowska, chairman of PRON from the Kalinow region, stating further that youth are not being attracted while we deliver to them beautiful words, and organize lectures; youth will not be attracted as long as they know that connections, favoritism, and boosterism still count.

Janusz Wojcik, member of the Presidium of TMR PRON noted that there is a lack of uniform of models, on which youth are educated. Accompanying this is the continued strong activity of community or generational parochialisms. Piotr Witkowski, delegate from Wieniawa, noted that many matters with youth in mind can be arranged off hand, though this unfortunately is not done--it is difficult then to expect something else from youth. For example, in Wieniawa, the most energetic activity, in his opinion, takes place in restaurants and cafes.

Henryka Wojcik, secretary of the PRON council in Tatary, noted that youth are impatient, they act quickly and expect results quickly. How they can be attracted, however, if certain activities of the youth attract them all year. That is just how it is in Tatary where the struggle for a playground at school No 33, did not get results.

And at this point we may move into the specific initiatives which were discussed during the conference.

First of all, it was noted, the movement will gain still greater social support if it will undertake, especially in the basic units, activities bringing measureable social benefit. There are many opportunities for such activities in Lublin. And so, for example, Czeslaw Orlowski, delegate from Kalinow, reminded those gathered of the problem, known for years, of utilizing the ravine between Bierut residential community and 30-year residential community. This is constantly discussed but nothing is done. But the utilization of the ravine is necessary for the populace and if it materializes, it will be very well accepted, just as will the construction of a school in Independence residential community. Of course, PRON neither will build nor manage, but through its authority, should inspire such initiatives and should oversee their coming to fruition.

Janusz Marek, also a delegate from Kalinow area, noted that in Lublin there are no apartment houses built with handicapped people in mind (with driveways and wide windows, etc.). The "Unity" Cooperative of Invalids proposed construction of such a house, said the speaker, appealing for support for the project..

Andrzej Kosinski spoke about the initiative, supported and guided by our editorial staff, of adapting unused attics and other space for housing for young married couples, acknowledging that a way out must be found, the interests of the sides should be reconciled, and the young people should gain housing. Let's hope so.

Also discussed was the sports center at the Stanislaw Staszic First General Education High School, in the accepted resolution, appealing to the work enterprises and society for support of this initiative.

The voice of the OKON delegate from the creative arts community Krzysztof Toronczyk sounded interesting, stressing the importance of culture in the widely understood sense as a level of social integration. In Lublin much has already been gained, both in the work of integration of the creative arts community itself and in social understanding. There is still much to do in the area of dissemination of culture. And this may be often achieved without great outlays. K. Toronczyk told the delegates of the suggestions accepted during the OKON meeting of the creative arts community: The establishment of an Office of the Urban Artist (decisions concerning esthetics of the city should be in the hands of specialists) support for construction of a theater and philharmonic building, specifically a quicker improvement of the working conditions of the Osterwa Theater, Philharmonic and Musical Theater), establishment in Lublin of a metropolitan branch of the Music Academy (there was even a decision about its location) and help for the Lublin television editorial staff which has an opportunity to increase broadcast time but because of difficult conditions cannot take advantage of the proposal by the Administration of the Radio and Television Committee.

It was also very strongly emphasized that with the urgent need for concrete activity, the role of PRON should include inspiring and guiding matters but in no case can the rebirth movement replace offices and institutions.

So much for details the of the interesting discussion. Repeatedly, the resolution accepted toward the end of the meeting referred to it. The conference recommends in the resolution to TMR PRON and for all activists, among other things, undertaking work for the joint activity of citizens in the improvement and strengthening of the sovereign socialist state, overcoming parochialisms, close contact with youth organizations, schools, and universities for the popularization of the ideas of the movement for rebirth among young people. Also discussed in the resolution is attracting new members, establishment of PRON units in the residential communities and joint participation in the fight against social pathology. The conference also expressed its decided support for the idea of constructing a Maternal Health Center hospital-monument, calling on society for financial and moral support (let's add that at many meetings of the basic units of PRON, a collection was taken up for this purpose).

At the close of Friday's meetings, 12 delegates were elected to the First National Congress of PRON. Let's repeat that those elected were: Jan Bialkowski, Czeslaw Dabrowski, Halina Filipiak, Edmund Guzowski, Teresa Klepacka, Andrzej Kosinski, Jacek Orzechowski, Jozef Wacinski, Wlodzimierz Wiszniewski, Henryka Wojcik, Janusz Wojcik, Ewa Zukowska. Directly after the conference, conference participant, chairman of WRN and vice-chairman of TWR PRON in Lublin, Stanislaw Zgrzywa, met with the delegates and handed them their credentials.

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PROVINCIAL AKTIV-PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Bydgoszcz Aktiv Meeting on Economizing

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1,5

[Article by (bur): "Thrift Means Good Management: Conference of Worker Aktiv in Bydgoszcz With the Participation of K. Barcikowski"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /An assessment of the implementation of socio-economic tasks in Bydgoszcz Province last year and during the first quarter of this year as well as consultation on the government anti-inflation and conservation programs were the topics of the conference of broad economic and social aktiv held last Saturday in Bydgoszcz. It was attended by party and non-party workers, including a group of 60 participants in the recent national conference of worker aktiv as well as trade-union, worker self-government and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activists, party activists and the management of many plants./

/The conference, chaired by Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Province PZPR Committee, was also attended by, among others, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee; Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of labor, wages and social services; Brig Gen Zbigniew Blechman, commander of the Polish Military Organization [POW]; Brig Gen Franciszek Kaminski, chairman of the Province People's Council, and representatives of province authorities, political parties, public organizations and the administration./

The discussion among the conference participants focused on assessing the implementation of social and economic tasks in Bydgoszcz Province as reported by Ryszard Bandoszek, secretary of the Province Committee, and Bogdan Krolewski, province governor.

/Last year Bydgoszcz Province accounted for 2.8 percent of the nation's industrial output, 7 percent of its grain output and 4 percent of meat output (including, among other things, 870,000 bicycles, 793,000 radio receivers, 199,000 tons of pulp and 287,000 tons of paper, 678,000 tons of soda, 82,000 tons of meat and 320 million liters of milk), but it did not exploit fully its production potential. The value of last year's output was only 88 percent of the value in 1980 and 96 percent of the value in 1981. Already this comparison indicates that production in Bydgoszcz Province can be markedly increased, and this can be accomplished not only by surmounting the supply and manpower obstacles but also by

improving the utilization of raw and other materials and energy as well as streamlining the organization and discipline of labor, improving technologies and eliminating waste and defective production./

This was mentioned in the discussion by, among others, Tadeusz Kurnatowski, tracing machine operator at the Bydgoszcz Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant [ZNTK], Pawel Szczeciak, brigade leader at ROMET United Bicycle Works, Henryk Cierocki, lathe operator at the State Machinery Center in Tuchola, Czeslaw Budzinski, foreman at ZEFAM Furniture Plant in Znin, Jan Auguscik, mechanic at the Pomeranian Works of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry in Fordon, Edward Zaparucha, electrician at Bydgoszcz Refrigeration Plant, and Aleksandra Palasz, seamstress at MODUS [expansion unknown], who often offered specific proposals for the solution of conservation problems.

/In the first quarter of this year we have recorded further growth of industrial output, but comparing it with the output in a like period last year is often misleading. A satisfactory increase in output compared with the best--the 4th quarter of last year, has not been universally recorded. The inflationary trend for a more rapid rise in wages than in productivity is continuing (the mean monthly wage plus compensation payments is 12,609 zlotys in Bydgoszcz Province industry and 11,802 zlotys in construction). A particularly great imbalance between the growth rate of wages and that of output and productivity has arisen at the Bydgoszcz SPOMASZ Food Industry Machinery and Equipment Factory, the Inowroclaw INOFAMA Machinery Factory and the Janikowski Soda Works./

/Marked progress in output during the first quarter of this year was recorded at the Bydgoszcz TECHMA Enterprise for the Modernization of Machine Industry, the Chojnicki POLSPORT, FOTON [expansion unknown] and the Swiec ZCIP [expansion unknown]. A high growth rate of consumer goods output is being achieved by: the Czerska Furniture Factory, the Kujawy Fats Industry Works in Kruszwica, the State Clothing Industry Works in Fordon and the DZIANOTEKS Knitwear Plant. Those not fulfilling their targets are: the Potato Industry Enterprise in Trzemieszna (37.9-percent decline last year), the Pomeranian Sugar Industry Works (18.2-percent decline), the BACUTIL Regional Lumber Industry Production Enterprise (13.2-percent decline). Many plants record an excessive production cost./

/It is also possible to economize on imported raw and other materials as evidenced by the successful activity of, among other things, the ELTRA [expansion unknown], the ROMET or the FOTON. By eliminating the imports of a number of materials the ELTRA has saved US\$350,000 and the ROMET, US\$60,000 plus US\$67,000 by undertaking its own production of previously imported spare parts. The FOTON undertook to manufacture its own EKG paper in lieu of the paper previously imported from Switzerland, and next year it will completely stop these imports. Noteworthy are the initiatives of the Production and Services Cooperative in Moglin in regenerating storage batteries for agriculture (it already has supplied 13,000 batteries) and the Multi-Branch Cooperative in Bydgoszcz in retreading tires (already 16,000 so far). The number of such instances of good work still is not sufficiently large./

Unfortunately, the increase in output is not always accompanied by a reduction in cost. The plans to streamline employment also failed, there being no relocation of manpower among plants. Instead of increasing, the number of workers directly engaged in industrial production is diminishing in the province. In 1981 they accounted for 72.4 percent and last year for 71.9 percent. This is happening in,



among others, the ZACHEM Chemical Works, the MODUS and the the KABEL Cable Machinery Factory. At the Znin SPOMASZ output in the first quarter of the year was only 98.2 percent of output in a like period last year, but employment increased as much as 6.9 percent, while at the Bydgoszcz Automatic Lathe Factory the corresponding figures were 96.6 and 2.7 percent, respectively. More such instances of poor management of manpower resources could be cited, while at the same time several plants intend to enlarge their workforces. These phenomena were mentioned in the comments by Roman Strychalski, electrician at the FOTON, Franciszek Hajnas, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the MOTOSTAL Wroclaw Enterprise for Steel Structures of Refrigeration and Industrial Equipment, and Robert Kwasny, director of the Chojnice State Farm, who also mentioned the need for wage adjustments.

Some discussants demanded a liberalization of the financial regulations binding enterprises, e.g. tax exemptions, discounts, etc. Other aspects of the anti-inflation program, too, were contested. These comments were directly answered in the speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. He said: "If we act as you wish and abolish taxes and other anti-inflation instruments, nothing would be left of the anti-inflation program except its name. We will not fight inflation by means of price increases alone...."

He further declared: "The discussion by management and economic activists sometimes produces on me the impression that we 'borrowed' the reform and that it can produce output for us, streamline employment and wages, conserve materials and build housing for us.... Behind such thinking stands lack of resourcefulness, good management and effort to solve economic and social problems. You are complaining about the poor structure of employment, the waste of labor and materials and the absence of an incentive-based wage system, but it is the enterprises and their management alone that are to be blamed for this. Pointing to the government and expecting proposals from it is mere indolence and avoidance of responsibility toward one's own workforce as well."

/K. Barcikowski emphasized: "For us there is no other road than that of maximizing production based on the available resources. We have a great production and cadre potential, and it should be exploited, because we cannot count on an increase in raw material resources and supplies of imported goods. Unless we implement the conservation program, output in 1985 will be higher by only 8 percent instead of the planned 16 percent. We must economize at every step, bearing in mind that petty savings, when taken together, produce substantial effects. This approach has been learned by other nations and we too can learn such a philosophy...."/

Toward the close of the conference Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Province Committee, stressed that the fate of the anti-inflation and conservation programs will be directly decided by the workforces of labor establishments. Thus everyone must be aware of the tasks ensuing from these programs. It is thus the duty of party organizations, plant management and self-governments to initiate broad discussion of anti-inflation and conservation tasks.

On Saturday Stanislaw Ciosek, a participant in the conference, also toured the ZACHEM Chemical Works.



Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9-10 apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (km): "The Idea of Conservation Must Reach Every Employee: Meeting of Worker Aktiv at Cegielski's"]

[Text] The great worker debate initiated by the national aktiv conference at the Congress Auditorium in Warsaw is continuing. Numerous comments, opinions and proposals are being offered concerning the government's versions of anti-inflation and conservation programs. Workforces are formulating concrete proposals concerning more efficient management at their plants.

Yesterday there was a conference of the socio-economic aktiv at the H. Cegielski Metal Industry Works, attended also by non-party members of the workforce and several participants in the Warsaw conference, including Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and quality control inspector at H. Cegielski, Poznan [HCP]. Jan Mielcarek, secretary of the Poznan Province PZPR Committee, was a guest of the conference.

The purpose of the meeting, chaired by Stanislaw Baziuk, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee, was to determine the directions of indispensable action to safeguard the implementation of the two government programs being currently discussed among all workforces in Poland--the anti-inflation and the conservation programs. The main assumptions and determining factors of both programs were discussed by Henryk Krysztofiak, plant party committee secretary, while the basic directions of the enterprise's work to prepare and implement its in-house program were outlined by Zdzislaw Miedziarek, director of the HCP.

There exist several principal domains of conservation measures at the enterprise, such as the losses entailed in production rejects, dispensable and excessive inventory, materials- and imports-intensiveness of production, energy consumption and the utilization of work time. Each of these domains harbors reserves whose utilization is essential to implementing the plant output targets in the next few years. This is besides a fundamental problem to the entire national economy and a condition for surmounting the crisis. Meeting this condition requires becoming convinced of the idea and necessity of economizing by every worker at every workstation.

The complex circumstances of the implementation of socio-economic plans and the attendant conclusions applicable to workforce members--from the worker to the engineer and manager--were also mentioned by Province Committee secretary Jan Mielcarek. Only joint effort without divisions ensuing from nature of work or office held can augment the effects of work and thereby also improve our welfare.

It is difficult to write much more about yesterday's discussion, which this time departed from the customary worker meetings at Cegielski's. It can only be hoped that the assumptions of the government programs are obvious to all, while proper discussion, based on plant realities, will develop in the next few days at individual elements of the enterprise in connection with the drafting of its economic plan for 1985, and especially regarding the conditions for its implementation.

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (bur): "A Platform for Dialogue of All Citizens: Delegates to the National PRON Congress Elected in Bydgoszcz Province"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The idea of a national accord is winning a growing number of adherents in Bydgoszcz Province. Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON] played an important role in popularizing this idea. Through their active presence in the life of cities, settlements, villages and plants, as well as by raising issues of the utmost concern to the communities--and of necessity also intervening in behalf of citizens so as to sometimes supplant the administration--the OKONs have gained a permanent niche in our public life. Today OKONs are active in all cities and gminas [parishes], and in many plants, villages and schools. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] has been strengthened by the current pre-Congress drive: its public base has grown and its councils have been formed in every city and gmina. During the pre-Congress discussion in Bydgoszcz Province the principal theses of the PRON's draft declaration and draft statute have been accepted./

The achievements of the movement for patriotic rebirth in Bydgoszcz Province and its development problems and goals were discussed in the speech by Dr Jerzy Wojciak, chairman of the Provisional Province Council (TRW) of the PRON, during yesterday's province congress of the PRON which was attended by 212 delegates and 62 TRW members. The congress was also attended by, among others: Jerzy Grzybaczak, deputy chairman of the Provisional National Council (TKR) of the PRON and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL]; and the representatives of the party and allied political parties and public organizations--signatories to the PRON--Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Province PZPR Committee; Andrzej Tchorzewski, chairman of the Province Committee of the Democratic Party [SD]; Henryk Chmara, secretary of the Province ZSL Committee; Tadeusz Marchlik, chairman of the Province Branch of the PAX; Jan Ryszard Blachnio, chairman of the Province Board of the Christian Social Association [ChSS]; Jan Stolarski, chairman of the Province Department of the Polish Catholic-Social Union [PZKS], as well as by Brig Gen Franciszek Kaminski, chairman of the Province People's Council, Province Governor Bogdan Krolewski and Klemens Michalik, chairman of the province's deputies to the Parliament.

Many interesting problems of the national rebirth movement were considered in the congress discussion, which occurred under the motto: "In fraternal cooperation we undertake the cause of repairing the Republic." It was pointed out that the discussion prior to the national congress was initiated in principle only at the Movement's elements and that the idea of national accord should be spread to all circles of society, with discussion to be undertaken also among persons unreceptive to the Movement. Care should be taken to widen the social base of the Movement among non-party citizens and youth. It was observed in the discussion that this is being hampered by the still existing occasional apprehensions that the PRON might become a facade. Hence it is good that the shape and program of the Movement are being born in discussion and disputes among people differing in views and outlook.

/The delegates emphasized that the shape, aims and tasks of the Movement still remain an open question which will be decided by the First National PRON Congress. But it is certain that this will not be a Movement lasting during only

a certain stage in our history. It must be a permanent platform for social dialogue and the expression of society's interests. The congress must thus define the PRON's role vis a vis the representative bodies (the Parliament and the people's councils) and the administration. It should exercise not only initiating but also monitoring functions, with the possibility of implementation of the decisions it works out.

Currently the most important tasks of the Movement include the striving to eliminate the sources of social conflicts and tensions and to rally the nation round the solution of its most vital concerns. These concerns are not only economic but also social. Currently it is highly important to establish a front for moral rebirth, combat social pathologies and protect youth against the adverse consequences of the crisis. Much attention was also paid in the discussion to the PRON's tasks in alleviating the daily vexations of discrete communities.

The congress also elected delegates to the National PRON Congress. The following were elected:

Zenon Bartkowiak, farmer of Znin Gmina (ZSL); Waldemar Baumgart, director of the PREFABET Factory in Biale Blota (non-party member); Jan Ryszard Blachnio, chairman of the Province Board of the ChSS; Marzena Dyl, club manager in Charzykowie (non-party member); Eugeniusz Foss, chief technologist at Janikowskie Soda Works (PZPR); Telesfor Fold9 [as published], senior instructor at the Kruszwica Sugar Factory (ZSL); Franciszek Gawronski, printer at Typographical Works in Bydgoszcz (non-party member); Medard Jasinski, retired teacher from Drzycim (SD); Wojciech Kalinowski, gardener from Osiek Gmina (non-party member); Prof Dr Hab Zbigniew Kikewicz of the Bydgoszcz Technical-Agricultural Academy [ATR] (non-party member); Krystyna Kowalska, farmer from Mroczka Gmina (non-party member); Henryk Kowalski, deputy director of the Agricultural Circles Cooperative [SKR] in Chojnice (ZSL); Mieczyslaw Laza, farmer from Sypniew (non-party member); Tadeusz Marchlik, chairman of the Province Department of the PARX; Marian Marszalec, foreman at Glass Works in Tur (non-party member); Teodor Mellentin, clockmaker from Nowy (non-party member); Jerzy Musial, physician from Koronow (non-party member); Jerzy Myk, director of Cooperative Bank in Lubiew (non-party member); Teresa Orczykowska, farmer from Inowroclaw Gmina (non-party member); Mikolaj Ostrowski, deputy director of the IZOPOL Pomeranian Insulation Materials Works in Trzemeszno (non-party member); Zdzislaw Plewa, farmer from Wiag (non-party member); Maciej Rygielski, chief expert on safety and hygiene of labor at the Bydgoszcz Energy District (PZPR); Franciszek Szafranski, teacher from Znin (ZSL); Jan Szklarski, chairman of the Province Branch of the PZKS; Kazimierz Sobek, teacher from Tuchola (ZSL); Boleslaw Trojanowski, pharmacist from Gniewkow (SD); Jozef Ulfig, PRON activist from Bydgoszcz (PZPR) and Alina Winiaszewska, librarian from Labiszyn (non-party member).

Earlier, during conferences of local PRON councils, the following delegates to the congress had been elected:

Jerzy Brzezinski of the Provincial Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations (WSRKIOR) (ZSL); Urszula Dobrolubow, physician from Inowroclaw (non-party member); Grzegorz Frankowski, ATR student (PZPR); Stanislaw Jarocki, teacher from Bydgoszcz (SD); Franciszek Jasiulewicz, chief economist at Typographical Works in Bydgoszcz (PZPR); Jerzy Jaskowiak, editor of DZIENNIK WIECZORNY (non-party member); Marian Olszynski, deputy director of the Lubasz Machinery Center (PZPR); Leslaw Piotrowicz, deputy chairman of the Province

Branch of the PAX Mieczyslaw Polacki, teacher from Moglino Gmina (PZPR); Bronislaw Pomiecinski, PRON activist from Inowroclaw (PZPR); Stanislaw Sularz, PRON activist from Chojnice (PZPR); Stanislaw Szweda, employee of Bydgoszcz ZNTK (ChSS); Janusz Urbanski, foreman from Bydgoszcz ZNTK (PZPR); and Zofia Zawisza, teacher from Swiec (PZPR).

The congress also elected five members of the PRON's National Council. They were: Zenon Bartkowiak, farmer from Znin Gmina (ZSL); Urszula Dobrolubow, physician from Inowroclaw (non-party member); Pawel Szczeciak, worker at ROMET in Bydgoszcz (PZPR); Czeslaw Tyburek, artisan from Bydgoszcz (SD); and Jerzy Wojciak, chairman of the Province PRON Council (SD).

The congress also complemented the membership of the Provisional Province Council of the PRON with chairmen of city, city-gmina and gmina councils of the Movement as well as with representatives of the public organizations which in recent weeks declared their participation in the PRON. Next, the congress resolved to abolish the provisional nature of the Province PRON Council.

At its close the congress adopted a resolution defining, among other things, the directions of action of the Province PRON Council.

#### Three Tasks Emphasized at Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 11 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Ludwik Krasucki: Three Facts, Three Tasks: Thinking of the Party"]

[Text] /In his speech to the national conference of worker aktiv the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee focused on three facts emerging in the discussion but characteristic of the entire present situation and hence determining the currently most important tasks of party work./ [printed in boldface]

Comrade Gen W. Jaruzelski declared: "First, the economic front is becoming, as never before in our country, a political front as well." Both the groups of political desperadoes active in the underground and the continuators of the destructive projects of the extremist wing emerging on the surface of life as well as the diversionary propaganda centers in the West are again, and in great haste, donning the garments of "sole" or "genuine defenders of worker interests" and complaining about the crisis and its social costs, negating the anti-inflation and conservation programs of the government and appealing for various forms of resistance and opposition to measures which--though bothersome and unpopular--provide the only remedy for our economic difficulties.

The present confirms the validity of the opinion of those who had expected that the time of great emotions and fascination in political problems will pass, that life will make it needs felt fully. Today a growing number of people evaluate the situation from the standpoint of economic criteria: earnings and allowances, the market supply and the satisfaction of everyday needs and the level of family budgets.

All that is explicit and socially tangible progress in this field acts to the advantage of the party and authorities, causes trust to be reborn, shapes faith in the future and the certainty that we shall overcome these cares. But also all that which is an apparent sign of incompetence, incapacity, low efficiency and

make-believe work or chaos disturbs orderliness and causes discouragement, being grist to the mills of those who desire to make chronic the difficult situation.

To the party--to it, above all--this means the necessity of attending to the economy--both the large-scale kind and the small economies in direct sight. Life has yet again resolved the dispute which had, against the background of criticism of the manifestations of pragmatism, of the party's alleged overemphasis on economic matters during the past decade, been conducted prior to the 9th Congress. The issue in that dispute was whether the party should attend on a day-by-day basis to the economy (day-by-day, because the need for a strategy of the party's influence on socio-economic processes was not questioned), and whether it should preserve commissions and departments for economic affairs or select secretaries for economic affairs at party committees.

These days practice dots the "i": yes, the economy has to be tenaciously attended to each day, because the economic front is also the political front, because no none and nothing can replace the party on that front, because the party's experience and knowledge, will and energy, as well as its slowly returning organizational flexibility, are indispensable wherever things are at their most difficult or still in many cases display shortcomings.

The second fact mentioned by the first secretary can be briefly stated: "The PZPR was and remains the party of workers." This means the duty of attend to currently the most difficult economic problems so as to solve them precisely from the standpoint of workforces, workers, working people. It was declared: "The Polish worker was and remains the master." Much, very much is to be done before this ideological thesis is made true in every work community. The point is that plant affairs should be attended to by stimulating and utilizing the opinions, criticism and initiatives of workers as well as by activizing self-governments and expediting the occupation by the trade-union movement of the role belonging to it under the law and by exerting pressure on those to whom it is all one, who--whether workers or directors or still higher officials--regard their job or post, their functions, as a sinecure or a guest appearance.

The party and state leadership faced the workers directly--workers, let us add, of differing affiliation, past and present, and differing views--and discussed difficult but common issues. Could not it be that those who are much more closely linked to factory shops, brigades and departments initiate too few such dialogues? As for attending to economic matters jointly with workers, on the side of workers and in the manner of workers, without administrative footdragging and tying up in red tape--that is another task.

"Thirdly," the Central Committee secretary declared, "the shaping of a new economic mentality is a difficult and prolonged process that is not at all free of contradictions."

This is an extremely binding statement, but one that also clarifies the topic that is persistently raised: how to handle economic issues? Of a certainty, not by governing, because this is not a function of party organs, and attempts to supplant those whose duty it is to govern have always had a fatal end to the party, the administration and us all. Of a certainty, this will not be done by shouting, pounding the table or looking up candidates for scapegoats. Of a certainty, it is necessary to avoid those "triangles" or "squares" which had ultimately led party activists to subordinate themselves to administrative mentality and place the party's signatures where they should not have been placed.

How then? The natural and most important plane of influence of the party and of all its elements on the processes of production and management is influencing human mentality and consciousness, animating the human desire to act in an orderly, efficient and economical manner. This will be the principal objective of the struggle. The opponents in this struggle are false mentality, illusions and prejudices, inertia and indolence, and the longtime habits of extensive, wasteful management, and even more so illwill and sour and opportunistic demagoguery. The time has come to concentrate the party's forces on the struggle against them all, to provide a platform for this struggle and to return to tried and tested forms of influence as well as to explore new ones.

Three facts--three tasks, which require solution as of the present through the effort of the entire party, without superfluous meetings and sessions, on maximally shortening the path from the podium of the Congress Auditorium to all factory departments and direct governing elements, in orderly ranks and following a common drumbeat which, however, does not preclude initiative but on the contrary encourages it by providing the conditions for utilizing whatever has--economic and hence also political--common sense.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Comments of Koszalin Province Delegate

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 17 Jan 83 p 5

[Interview with delegate Franciszek Skladnik, by Jerzy Rudzik:  
"Authority Must be Gained Through Work"]

[Text] Franciszek Skladnik, private farmer from the village of Debogard in Dygowo Gmina, member of the Voivodship Committee, executive board member of the KG [Gmina Committee] in Dygowo, POP secretary in his village, is one of the gmina party organization representatives to the voivodship conference.

This is how he describes his milieu: "The countryside is not swayed by cheap emotions, it longs for peace in the land and the growth of industrial production. It knows very well that only in this way the difficulties of supplying farmers with everything they need to achieve better economic results will diminish. Debogard is one of the more productive villages, obtaining good harvests, and socially active. Recently much has changed for the better there. A water duct is being built for the whole village community, dirt roads have been leveled, irrigation ditches dug, and through community effort, the fire-prevention water pond has been cleaned and made deeper."

[Question] "How large has the party members' contribution been?"

[Answer] "The POP contribution has not been large because we have only 10 members and only recently have we admitted a new candidate. In the village there is also a ZSL cell with which we collaborate. All of the PZPR members are good farmers. None of them achieves this without hard work, because a party card does not give one the right to obtain more fertilizers or machines. Thus if the POP has authority in the milieu, it has gained it by the justness of its arguments, by raising issues of interest to the whole community--both at village meetings and at meetings of the farming circle. The attitudes and involvement of party members are important. If they were not good farmers, their authority would be negligible. The whole village was pressing for the water duct for a long time because its importance for agricultural production and for the elementary standards of civilization is obvious," said Franciszek Skladnik.



He emphasized: "Many problems in the village can be resolved without help from the outside, by villagers' own work and involvement. For example, such is the case with the viral, multifaceted activity of the circle of farm women, and recently the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] circle, which is in charge of the farmers club (the Gmina Authorities in Dygowo should give it, however, more attention). During the summer, a children's day care center was operating, thanks mostly to the efforts of our women and youth."

[Question] "What would you like to say at the voivodship reports-programs conference?"

[Answer] "First of all, I would like to account for my party activity as a member of the Voivodship Committee and its agricultural commission. After all, I must feel that in the total sum, the fraction that is my own work and attitude counts to some degree. The worst thing is to be complacent, to feel that everything is all right, or to be convinced that we have no influence upon anything and should humbly accept what comes along."

"I also feel obliged to pass on several difficult questions bothering our whole gmina. The most important one is the new collective school [szkola zbiorcza] in Dygow, the building of which has been promised for many years now and remains a firm postulate of not only party resolutions but of practically all residents. The present school is in such catastrophic condition that no repairs can help. Everybody, children, parents, and the authorities suffer because of it. In such a situation it is difficult to talk about good, organized educational work. Besides, there is no housing for teachers and most of them are forced to commute."

"I am also worried about the problem of a growing disproportion in the accessibility of culture to the countryside and the city. It is a more general problem which in our gmina finds its sad confirmation. Of course, greater help 'from the top' is needed. Nevertheless, I insist that we can do much ourselves, by activizing the youth and social organizations. Here the role of party members, the village POP and the gmina party organization can be large. We must be persistent in demanding what is due us, while remembering also the need to contribute our own work."

#### Koszalin Reports-Programs Conference Delegate

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 26 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by W. Trzcinska: "We Can Build More Apartments"]

[Text] Edmund Pradzynski works as a foreman in the home construction factory of the Building Combine in Koszalin. He is a member of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP]:

"The reports campaign is to answer the question for us: 'What have we done and what is there still to be done?' In order to find the right answer, we must ask one more, basic question: 'How does what we have done

relate to the resolutions of the PZPR Ninth Congress?' I suppose that at the voivodship conference we shall be able to afford such accountability. As a delegate to the city and voivodship conferences, and as a WKKP member, I can say that I am currently knowledgeable about what is good and bad in the party. I consider (and many comrades confirm this opinion) peace among the work crew as our greatest success. For as an old proverb says: 'Peace builds, and discord destroys;' it was peace we needed most of all. We know that we had no peace, that colleagues were enemies of one another. Today, on the other hand, to cite the example of our own enterprise, we can say that we have stability in the enterprise. There are still discussions, but they are sincere, concrete, not just mutual attacks. And above all the principle of: 'If I am to judge others, I must judge myself first of all,' is being implemented."

"What is ahead of us? The political crisis has been taken care of to a large degree, and we are only beginning to wrestle with the economic crisis. I believe that at the lowest levels of management there are still a lot of defects which need to be removed if we are to move forward. We are trying to eliminate shortages. We have introduced additional means of control which currently inform people about new elements of the reform and their effects in the enterprise. Every month--this has become a steady practice--we sum up the realization of tasks, the quality of their execution and the tasks for the coming month. Nobody among the work crew can say that he does not know how things are and where we are at."

"We, the builders, are always being asked: 'What about home building?' At the city conference I heard that the voivodship budget has been drastically cut. This would be disadvantageous for us, because we could build more apartments. Of course, we will try to do it nevertheless--by utilizing our capacities better and by material savings. The home construction factory is not being fully utilized either. Why? Not for lack of cement; there is enough cement now. The main reason is lack of finishing materials: paints and floor finishes. Particularly the latter ones; and whatever we do have is of shabby quality."

"What is important for the work crew? I believe that labor union activity is very important. As the head of the founding group I can say that we are almost there. Next Wednesday we shall elect union authorities who will have their hands full of work. At the same meeting we shall adopt a program of union activity in our enterprise. Generally speaking it should take care of the employees' work and wage conditions. That is what employees are demanding; more realistic wages. The functioning principles of the motivational fund are also waiting to be worked out. It should be like this: he who works more, gets more. The conditions should be productivity and work quality. Yes, quality. If we want to judge the (work) quality of others, we must start with ourselves."

## Olsztyn Reports Conference Materials

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 18 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by (dan)]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday consultation meetings of the delegates to the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference took place in 3 areas of party work. The Voivodship Committee secretaries who in these milieux got their mandates for the 18th Reports-Election Conference in 1981, also participated in them. In Ilawa--Jan Laskowski, in Ostroda--Jan Malinowski, in Morag--Wladyslaw Dragun and the head of the Voivodship Party Control Commission--Mieczyslaw Kubicki.

The delegates discussed the materials prepared for the conference: the Voivodship Committee report, the resolution project, and the order of debates. They also proposed the introduction of certain amendments to the projected program of action. For example, in Ilawa, suggestions were made to make more concrete the tasks in the food economy, and in Ostroda, the need for emphasizing the ideological and educational work and strengthening the party's role was underlined.

## Olsztyn Reports Conference Resolution

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 3 Feb 83 p 3

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference, deliberating on 29 January 1983, confirms the evaluations and motions included in:

1. The PZPR Voivodship Committee report on its activity in the period from 1 June 1981 to 31 December 1982.
2. The PZPR Voivodship Audit Commission report, and recognizes the topicality of postcontrol directional recommendations of the CKR [Central Audit Commission] PZPR, following a complex control of the voivodship party organization in 1982.
3. The PZPR Voivodship Commission of Party Control.
4. The KW PZPR Executive Board programs report.
5. The Olsztyn governor report.

The conference affirms the conformity of action of the Voivodship Committee and party bodies and organizations with the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress and the resolution of the 18th Voivodship Reports-Election Conference. The PZPR Voivodship Committee during plenary sessions justly defined party tasks in the changing sociopolitical and economic situation.

The basic tasks of the voivodship party organization in the past period were:

- a) carrying out a persistent political struggle for the defense of the systemic principles of socialism, for preserving the ideological and organizational unity of party ranks, and for alleviating the effects of the crisis and creating conditions for overcoming it.
- b) carrying out the struggle for the rebuilding of social trust in party actions and winning over supporters for the realization of its program.
- c) subordinating political and organizational actions to the idea of socialist renewal and creating conditions for national understanding.
- d) restoring the ethical and moral values of socialism in social consciousness and public life.

The conference affirms that the correct realization of the directives pointed out above enabled the voivodship party organization to function properly in the period of martial law. In regard to this it should be emphasized that the suspension of martial law is, among other things, the result of the all-round cooperation of party organizations in the creation of political, social, moral and economic conditions.

The conference recognizes party activity directed toward the achievement of normalization of the sociopolitical and economic situation as the chief task of the PZPR bodies and organizations in the voivodship. The consolidation of society around the realization of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress program requires a determined political struggle in the following directions of activity of the voivodship party organization:

#### 1. In Ideological and Propaganda Education

The determinant of the party's program ought to be the realization of marxist-leninist principles in its activity and dissemination of these principles in life in general.

The conference obliges party bodies and organizations to observe consistently class principles in all its spheres of activity.

The party's ideological activity ought to serve:

- the realization of the idea of national understanding and the social formula for its implementation;
- the creation of cohesive educational systems in trade milieux, social organizations, and schools--subordinated to the highest values of socialism;
- governing, democratization of power and its political and social conditions;

--the political education of society;

--the strengthening of the effective forms of ideological education and continually strive for their dissemination.

The goals enumerated above ought to be served by a system of means: in particular a better organizational structure of courses and other forms of aktiv education, participation of party members in the dissemination of our ideas, and energetic propaganda; a high level of ideological and factual content in the mass media is particularly important in this.

## II. In Intraparty Work

The conditions for the party's leading role are its high organizational efficiency, well-defined range of rights, and undisturbed functioning of basic statutory principles; that is, intraparty democracy and democratic centralism.

In this activity the conference considers the following to be the most important:

--elaboration by the POP of the principles of the party organization's leading role in the conditions of the economic reform. The POP will establish the principles of influencing self-management bodies, independent trade unions, youth organizations, and other social organizations active in work enterprises. Party organizations at all levels will give them educational and instructional aid in this respect;

--continuation by the POP of the process of consolidating and purging party ranks, and also strengthening their working class character;

--development of intraparty democracy and discipline, creating a climate of mutual requirements, and conformity of actions with words;

--improvement of political work with the leadership cadres of all levels, elaboration of the principles of creating cadre reserves in party bodies;

--respecting POP statutory rights by party bodies;

--generalization of the ROPP [expansion unknown] experiences, defining their role and scope of action;

--improvement and coordination of the internal party control system, by wider utilization of party statutory organs among other things;

--assuring an efficient and widespread circulation of information, including transmission from the party body to the POP and back, allowing it to reach every party member;

--establishing organizational principles of creating and utilizing the aktiv in all party bodies;

--an active attitude of party members and organizations in regard to negative social phenomena and keen reaction to citizens' grievances and proposals.

### III. In the Socioeconomic Sphere

The Conference supports the realization of social goals and economic tasks presented in the "assumptions of the 1983-1985 socioeconomic plan for Olsztyn Voivodship, with particular emphasis on 1983." The activity of the voivodship party organization ought to promote full execution of the plan and budget for 1983 in agreement with the WRN [Voivodship City Council] of 28 January 1983. Among the most important social goals are:

--maintenance and gradual improvement of society's provisioning through rational utilization of national and regional production capacities of the agriculture and food industry,

--slowing down the decline in housing construction and creating conditions for the permanent solution of the housing problem by developing all forms of housing (cooperative, enterprise owned, private, and municipal).

The activity of the voivodship party organization in shaping agricultural policy ought to serve the realization of the resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the CC PZPR and the NK ZSL, and take into consideration the specific conditions of agriculture in Olsztyn Voivodship. On the basis of these conditions, the problem of developing agriculture and the food economy in the voivodship for a period of several years ought to be elaborated in 1983. Particular attention in this program ought to be devoted to:

--agricultural improvements and providing villages with water,

--forest economy,

--collaboration of various agricultural sectors,

--improvement of the work and organization of agricultural services.

The implementation and improvement of the economic reform ought to be subordinated to the meeting of social and economic goals--in accordance with the resolutions of the KW PZPR of 28 August and 17 November 1982.

In the years 1983-1984, the elaboration of the assumptions of the long range development of Olsztyn Voivodship in the new socioeconomic conditions ought to be assured.

In the socioeconomic domain, the execution of the resolutions of the Executive and the plenary sessions of the KW must be continued. The conference finds that only a part of these resolutions has so far been realized.

#### IV. In the Sociocultural and Scientific Domain

The extent to which society's sociocultural needs are met makes a significant impact on the broad range of problems of society's life. In the final account, it is people, their health, education, access to cultural goods, etc., that are decisive for all the undertakings of our party. The conference finds that the most important things for the development of education currently are:

- raising the schools' position in the social life of a milieu by activizing teachers and youth;
- political work with the teaching personnel for the purpose of assuring the realization of the socialist program of education;
- creating living and housing conditions for teachers, particularly in the rural milieu;
- adapting the educational network to the needs of the countryside.

#### In the Domain of Education

The Conference acknowledges the necessity for closer ties of higher education with socioeconomic practice. To this end, the university leadership and party organizations ought to carry out a thorough analysis of education's profiles and scope, adjusting them to the needs of the economy and broadly understood culture. University party committees will implement the tasks adopted in their own resolutions, the organizational, political and ideological strengthening of party organizations, and the creation of conditions for proper development and activity of the SZP [Union of Polish Students], ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], ZMW [Union of Rural Youth], and ZHP [Union of Polish Scouts].

The conference accepts the premise that in the matters of culture the highest priority must be given to:

1. Maintaining the present potential and undertaking activities aimed at enriching the current state of cultural objects, particularly in regional posts. Possibilities of improving the situation in the sphere of culture must be looked for in the human potential, in the organization, involvement and creative passion of the groups of cultural workers.
2. Making an analysis of the degree of effectiveness of the present activities of cultural institutions and creative milieux, working out a complex long-range program of action.
3. Formation of a Voivodship Council of Culture and giving it a high position in the development and realization of the party's cultural policy in the Olsztyn voivodship.



## In the Domain of Health Services

It is necessary to:

- maintain the current direction of creating a base for outpatient and hospital medical care, by modernization, repairs and building new facilities,
- in order to provide proper medical care, efforts must be made to bring in medical personnel, particularly to rural health centers;
- cover children and school youth by preventive care;
- organize the activity of organizations and institutions providing social help in milieux, for the purpose of a rational and just utilization of assigned means;
- coordinate efforts in the protection of natural environment.

## In the Domain of Sport, Tourism, Recreation and Active Leisure:

The conference considers as the most important the stimulation of the interests and social activity of the working people, students and working youth; propagation of the known and proven organizational forms of disseminating physical culture under the patronage of social and youth organizations, and enterprises. The conference supports the elaboration of a complex program of development of physical culture and sport in the voivodship.

## V. In the Domain of Self-Management and Administration

The activity of party bodies and organizations ought to serve the strengthening of the role of national councils in the system of socialist democracy. It should also serve the popularization of the population's participation in all forms of self-management.

A policy enabling the rebirth and strengthening of a strong class trade movement, properly representing the basic social interests of the working people, and above all of the working class, must be carried out.

The socioproductional and political activization of the rural milieu ought to be served by increasingly vital activity of ideopolitical and social organizations. Together with the ZSL, the party will create conditions for correct development of sociotrade organizations of farmers, rural self-management, and trade unions, and their cooperation with the state and economic administration.

The conference recognizes that a consistent realization of the resolution of the CK PZPR 9th Plenum on the problems of youth, is a long-term task of the Voivodship Committee. The realization of sociopolitical goals resulting from this resolution ought to be based on the principle of partnership collaboration of party organizations and bodies with the organizations and bodies of the youth movement.

Social forces and means must be mobilized for the purpose of improving significantly the activities of the organs of administration and authority, for contributing to the reinforcement of public order and law-abidingness.

A special task of all party members is to counteract actively the phenomena of social pathology and especially to react decisively to all signs of disrespect for law and order.

Party bodies and institutions ought to give decisive battle to theft and the waste of social wealth. Popularization of law in all social milieux is another important task.

#### VI. Control of the Realization of the Resolution

The conference obligates all party members, bodies and organizations to consistent realization of the decisions of this resolution. The conference obligates the Voivodship Committee to:

1. Work out a schedule for the realization of the resolution, including the motions submitted during the conference.
2. Periodically examine information concerning progress in the realization of the resolution.
3. Inform the party and society about the results of the realization of the resolution.

#### Olsztyn Current Party Tasks

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 18 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (dan)]

[Text] (Own information) The secretaries of the Voivodship Committee and basic level organizations, as well as heads of regional centers of party work, discussed yesterday at a working meeting in Olsztyn the current directions and problems of PZPR activity in the voivodship.

These result from the resolutions of central party authorities and from the resolution of the Voivodship Reports Conference. The choice of forms and methods of work is influenced by a given sociopolitical and economic situation. Thus knowledge of the situation and clear-sighted analysis of the causes of it are among the important factors in the realization of political tasks.

The KW PZPR first secretary Jan Laskowski and the KW secretary Tadeusz Jelski, who led the meeting, described the social and political situation in the voivodship, the KW secretary Adam Weselak discussed the party's

current status in particular gminas and cities, the KW secretary Jan Malinowski presented a large amount of economic information, and the head of the Agricultural and Food Economy Section presented the situation in agriculture.

The statistical data presented at yesterday's meeting are worthy of consideration. Some inspire optimism, others cause anxiety. For example, in January 1983, the sales of the voivodship's socialized industry production were higher by 16.2 percent than in January 1982, but lower by 4.7 percent than in December 1982 (in the past month in Olsztyn Voivodship more was produced than in January 1982 of the following products: furniture, wall elements and reinforced concrete, building ballast, knitting products, tires for tractors and trucks, machinery and equipment for agriculture). Employment was lower by 1.109 persons, productivity higher (except for the chemical industry) by 18.4 percent. Wages increased by 38.5 percent (the lowest monthly wage in industry, including compensations, was higher in January 1982 by 41.2 percent and amounted to 10,547 zlotys). The inflationary gap has widened.

In January 1983, 72 apartments were completed; which amounts to 1.9 percent of the yearly plan.

The number of people employed has decreased, the number of job vacancies increased (5.012 vacancies in January 1983), 21 job offers await every job seeker. For example, in Olsztyn 2.566 jobs were offered, and the number of people registered as seeking jobs on 25 January 1983 were...6.

Consumers spent (in the socialized retail trade) in January 1983, 3,814.800 zlotys, including 49 percent on food. Nearly one third of the voivodship consumers' food expenditures were on alcohol! The list of goods in January 1983 was similar to the one in the previous year.

In the first weeks of the current year a visible improvement has taken place in the sales of slaughter livestock and milk. The decline of the number of cows in farms with a simultaneous increase in milk sales points to a positive trend--higher productivity of cows. Nevertheless, this productivity is still too low--on the average in the voivodship, 2700 liters yearly per cow. Thus there are large reserves.

The agricultural data cited at the meeting point to a great differentiation of goods produced per hectare which cannot always be explained by differences in the soil fertility or farm size. These questions ought to become a subject of greater interest to PZPR and ZSL bodies, which are preparing for the joint realization of the resolution of the CC PZPR and NK ZSL 11th Plenum. The task of the PZPR and ZSL, their members and regional bodies, is to stimulate rural self-management organizations to [make] decisions concerning all the important questions of the countryside and farming, such as land turnovers, or the distribution of other means of production.

The necessity of the party organization and bodies supporting the initiatives of unions and self-management at work places, was also pointed out.

12270

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BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' ATTITUDES IN PROVINCES

Workers' Criticism of Sick Leave Law

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Ludwik Burski "Workers' Amendments to the Law"]

[Text] The Sejm's law enacted 2 months ago amending some of the regulations regarding the monetary benefits from social security, brought about among other things, a reduction by half of sickness benefits for the first 3 days of every medical absence. This law which already in its draft stage was described as controversial, the Sejm passed with a large unprecedented for postwar years, number of abstaining and opposing votes. It was already anticipated at the time, that it will be revised in the executive decree by the Minister of Health.

The government's intentions are known by the presentation of so formulated a law before the Sejm. We find ourselves in a deep crisis, the economy is suffocating under the nightmare of inflation, whose main reason is the surplus of money on the market and the lack of goods in the stores. The shortage of goods in some cases can be explained by the lack of raw and base materials, in other cases again, the blame is placed on low productivity and general weakening of discipline not mentioning even unemployment which nationally is nearing several hundred thousand persons. To come out of the crisis and dam up inflation, only one way is possible: by increasing productivity especially for the marketplace. It is difficult to "make" production without people. Absentees do not produce, yet they collect their money.

The enacted document which is to punish laggards, those who abuse medical leaves of absence, at the same time however punishes the multitude of honest workers. The latter if they are going on sick leave, are in reality sick.

Staffs together with party and union organizations from the beginning were critical of this solution. In addition to the remarks concerning the merits of the case, there was also brought up the fact that the law was not fully or properly discussed with the professional unions and industrial crews. New organizations do not want to be dummy unions consisting of "yes men".

If the need arises they will be capable to protect the workers' interests, which in this case if you look in perspective, is in concert with the interests of society. As confirmed at a recent meeting of the committee of the Council of Ministers for trade union affairs, with the participation of the union's organization representatives of 19 large industrial establishments and the HCP, the worker's arguments had an effect on the modifications of the government's opinions. Evidence of this is the recommendation of the committee of the Council of Ministers for union affairs, assigning the granting of the union demands to the minister of health and welfare. As we know from the recently announced decree by the minister of health and the communication from ZUS, alcoholism, narcotics and self-inflicted wounds are practically exclusively responsible for the lowering of medical leave assistance. In other words indications from the field of social pathology which are universally sharply criticized. Therefore labor's amendments to the law were totally taken under consideration and it can be said, that the consultations although belated were successful, and this is what matters.

#### Poznan Aktiv Comments

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Boguslaw Klorek "The Voice of Labor"]

[Text] In the following article we are publishing additional discussions incorporated in the protocol of the Krajowa Narada Aktiv [National Council of Labor Aktivs], which was held in Warsaw 30 Mar 83. Here are the problems brought up by the representatives from Wielkopolska.

Boguslaw Klorek, an assembler at the Steel Construction and Industrial Building Erection Enterprise "Mostal" in Poznan and a member of PZPR, stated the following: that the construction field suffers a shortage of labor. Workers with high qualifications and long seniority are quitting. The technical staffs are shrinking, since the wages in the construction division are not attractive.

I do not agree with this, commented the speaker, that is the portion of the anti-inflation program which deals with compensatory taxation. The implementation of this program targeted at government workers, will first of all penalize the highest qualified. This tax should pertain to persons receiving additional large profits from other sources.

I think that group agreements and the craft cards should be revised in consultations with society and the professional unions.

One of the reasons productivity is slowing up is the shortage of basic and component materials. Productivity is not helped by the absence of long term stable government programs involving business. For instance, the government's politics in controlling business price increases, while the government inadvertently adjusts its official prices without any limitations.

I would like to add that the decision to reduce benefits for the first 3 days of disability has not met with approval. I know of cases where sick workers come to work and do not work efficiently.

Ryszard Janiszewski, a lathe operator at the Poznan Electro-Chemical Industries Centra, a youth social worker, an independant, stressed that the main reasons for inflation are found within the establishments. In addition to the high production costs connected with big material usage, energy and fuel costs contribute to maintenance burdens. Inflation always hits laborers on fixed salaries, low wages and in this case also retirees.

In the anti-inflation program, it is proposed to tax compensations, service commodities and curtail certain social benefits. Reductions in the availability of goods and services may lead to the weakening of motivations for the employed, which would lead to the reduction in productivity. Also further retail price increases are not conducive to social tranquility.

In view of the above, indications are for the temporary freezing of procurement prices for raw and manufactured materials to stabilize the economy and therefore, retail prices. Increases in remunerations should be granted only if they come from higher efficiency and lowering of production costs.

Commenting on the economy program, he emphasized that the earnings of the people responsible for the economy should be tied in with the effects obtained in price reductions. The engineering and technical staffs should be considered in the same way as the laborers. An engineer reducing material costs should be entitled to receive a high income.

All programs however, have to have the acceptance of society. Only then will we be able to put a stop to inflation and lead the economy out of the crisis. An important fact in reality, in this context is the self-government of the workers. The self-governments should be the actual managers of their establishments. Only then will the crews involve themselves in the problems of their institutions.

Marek Rozycki, a laborer in the Factory for Wiping Products and Materials "Korund" in Kolo, province of Konskie, an independant, underlined the fact, that the 3-year plan depends upon the degree and level of effectiveness the government program will be concluded. He stated that the war on inflation has an impact not only on the economy, but also in the same degree upon society. Important are the assurances of a stable market, fair wages and the easing of problems for the workingman's existence.

M. Rozycki reminded us, that inflation not only has an economic phenomenon but also creates losses in morality. Money which cannot buy goods, does not produce motivations for better and more productive efforts. Counteracting inflation requires particular changes in the attitudes and behavior of the public, resignation from excessive wage demands which should be in line with economic feasibilities. Fighting inflation by the system of price increases, or in other words, limiting purchasing power, is the most severe form of

combatting this situation. The proper and effective method of counteracting this, is increasing production, as its improvement will enhance supplies at the marketplace. The level of production should regulate income.

Up to this time a premium was granted on the basis of work attendance, but sincere efforts on the job, was not, and still is not rewarded. The deciding factor in this matter is faulty system of evaluation and the injustice of the appraisal itself.

Each worker should be required to show reasonable economy in the utilization of raw and conventional materials. We should develop conditions so that each conscientious, honest working person could have the feeling that he is really the manager of his establishment, and with this of the whole country.

#### Workers' Debates on Anti-Inflation Policy

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by J. Den "It Can Be Cheaper and More Economical"]

[Text] In the whole region there are continuing debates on the subject of fighting inflation and economizing of raw materials and energy. Today we are publishing two reports from the Establishment of the Clothing Works Delia in Zamosc and the Regional Meat Industry in Lublin, submitted by our reporters.

#### Workers' Debate

At the National Laborers' Aktiv Conference, the territory of Zamosc was represented by 19 delegates. One of them was a representative of the Establishment of Clothing Industries Delia in Zamoac, seamstress Krystyna Wojszczuk. As it happened, we went to Delia. At the membership meeting which was dedicated to finding solutions for the fight with inflation and poor management, she revealed her impressions of the Warsaw Conference. When the inquisitiveness about the actual procedures at the Warsaw Conference was satisfied, the remarks of the membership turned to the crux of the matter under discussion. How can we find a remedy for the crisis? The answer is not simple, because its causes are involved. But still, within the environments of Delia you can accomplish many things in this respect. For instance, in the improvement of quality. This problem was pointed out by Anna Kaminska. You have to put more effort into producing items of the highest quality. The benefits are measurable, since with higher quality the prices are relatively better.

This problem was pursued by Stanislaw Koltun. "Very fine products can be exported. Our establishment has found out several time before, that this is good business. If it weren't for the money earned this way, we could not have been able to equip Delia with the necessary foreign machinery, nor been able to purchase the needed replacement parts. We have to develop specialities for exports. Recently there arose the possibility of



establishing a cooperative venture with Bulgaria, with the befriended district of Tolbuchin. We should take advantage of this opportunity", said S. Koltun.

The attention to another opportunity was brought up by Krystyna Tyburska. "Last year our firm saved 30,223,000 zlotys through the rational utilization of raw and other materials. We have to follow this path. After all, Delia already has a good reputation for its improvements in utilizing allotted materials." Irena Frankowicz said: "In 1979 the so called scraps amounted to 0.52 percent; in 80 they were 0.46 percent; in 81 0.36 percent and in 82 only 0.21 percent. At Delia our main product are coats, but the assortment is selected in such a manner that what we call 'left over' cuttings, we can still cut material for skirts, jackets etc."

You can therefore say that in our establishment we have already solved the remnant problem. There are however still some smaller pieces which should be utilized, the so called cuttings. This year we intend to sew 50,000 pairs of workgloves from these. We have even contacted the Cover Manufacturing Shop Sanwil in Przemyśl from whom we obtain their remnants of anil, which is just right for trimming gloves."

In the discussions proposals of a more general nature were presented. More attention has to be given to the upbringing of our youth. Speculators nor confidence men should be their ideals. In the resurgence of the country's economy everybody should join in. Nobody can stand by idly and watch.

The meeting which had been scheduled for the period between the first and second shift closed at the designated time, because many of the women travel to work from distant villages. Within small groups however, discussions continued further on. "I eavesdropped on one of these. I found out that at Delia they are departing from the short operation, single station production system in the sewing department. Now the operations are being combined so that several people can perform them simultaneously. This has the advantage of less time lost in a purely manipulatory operation, resulting in increased production".

It should be mentioned, that because of these changes, seamstresses are relieved of the obligation of having to hang the sewn details. Now this work is handled by another person. Getting up from the work station to hang the items resulted in a noticeable loss of time by the seamstress.

Loading the fabrics in the cutting room is a tedious task. We have found a method eliminating the inconvenience. We are preparing a special wagon which will mechanize and speed up this process. In some of the materials, especially with woollens, when the finished item is ironed the stitches show through. A remedy for this was found also. Process men found a way to revitalize the material fibers, which resulted in hiding the stitches. The quality of the products was again affected when at the point of sewing on of smaller details, as patches, the seamstresses used flat templates. The machines would often run over onto the template, destroying it and making

a crooked seam. Presently the templates are so constructed that this possibility has been eliminated, since certain allowances have been made for the width and height of the shoe to restrict the movements of the needle.

Henryk Daniluk who is an electrician at Delia told me that in their shop nothing is wasted.

We need such management on an everyday basis. By the middle of this month we intend to implement an economy program. I had an impression that this program has already been put into action by the crew of this establishment. Wacław Szymanski - At a recent nationwide conference in Warsaw, the membership of the Lublin District of Meat Industry was represented by Czesław Wasek and Tadeusz Wroblewski. Last Thursday they met with the Labor Party Aktiv and with the administrative management of the industry to exchange their impressions of the conference, as well as the proposals emanating from the government's anti-inflation program concerning functions of the establishments.

Right after his return from Warsaw, Czesław Wasek, a laborer in the meat product divisions said: "My colleagues questioned me as to the reasons for my trip to Warsaw. I told them, that if we will all work diligently and economize, then there will be no reduction in wages. The people themselves agreed that finally something is being done in this matter. However there still is a lot to be accomplished. If for instance we run the water constantly, this constitutes a real waste. Or, the matter of the binding twine, it is in short supply so we have to be frugal. Up to now, if the string got tangled we simply threw it away. It is necessary for the master butcher and the foreman to be more observant.

We also have to pay attention to the quality of our products. From bad or improperly prepared ingredients you cannot make good cured meats. It happens however that at times we get bad casings for the liver sausage which are either too thick or fall apart. It also happens that in the casings for groat sausage, we find impurities. We have to decidedly fight this lazy attitude.

Referring to the problems he was to present during his appearance at the conference in Warsaw, Tadeusz Wroblewski said that his remarks were incorporated in the protocol. In these remarks he brought attention to three vital questions, namely, for improvement in contracting for slaughter livestock, on the production of fodder from butcher wastes, also on the meat trade operations. These matters were the subject of a conversation of T. Wroblewski with the vice-minister of agriculture, which took place during a recess in the conference.

The presentations of the participants of the Warsaw conference resulted in vivid discussions. Among subjects touched upon was the problem of rational management in raw materials, fuel and the question of managing all divisions, matters of the social existence of the membership and the solution to the meat rations for the workers of the industry. The statements of the

conferees will serve toward the realization of the anti-inflation activities within the framework of the Lublin OPPM [First Aid Medical Unit]. We will elaborate on the matters brought up at this meeting in a separate publication.

### Capabilities of Polish Workers

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Franciszek Pioala "Myths and Realities"]

[Text] Great and most learned polemicists and disseminators of knowledge about our country's history, among others, Col Zbigniew Zaluski and Pawel Jasienica, attempted to prove that the Poles in contradiction to the circulating existing opinions on our subject, not only among foreign nations but also among ourselves, are absolutely a completely "normal" and plain nation, no better, but certainly no worse than others. They proved this without any doubt, but still the above-mentioned negative opinions exist as strongly as ever, fomented particularly in recent times not only by foreigners favoring us--to say it delicately--with not too much sympathy, but also quite often by our own countrymen. For instance, they criticize us as being frivolous, troublesome, lazy, unkempt, spendthrifts, etc., etc., while others are industrious, orderly, disciplined and law-abiding. I do not have the slightest intention of proving that there are no Poles with these negative qualities, because as everybody knows there are good and bad in every nation. I want to indicate that in this case, all generalities and particularly borderline opinions, simply do not hold together. Reports of people who have by necessity their eyes somehow open as wide as possible and therefore observe many things, cast an interesting and at the same time intriguing light on this subject. So here is what has been told to me by pilots and mechanics of the Mielec Manufacturing Facility of Transportation Equipment, engaged in the promotional presentations of equipment produced in their facilities, namely, agriculture planes PZL M-18 "Dromader".

### Cleanliness and Order

It is understood that the Americans or Canadians somehow have technical science in "their blood" and a fondness for order and cleanliness. Whoever wants to, let him think so! Actually even there things are not always so. Here are the observations of one of the most experienced Mielec test pilots, called "flyboy" Eng Tadeusz Pakula, who several years ago participated in work connected with forest-fire prevention of the tremendous areas of Ontario Province forests.

[Pakula's Statement] It is literally hard to believe, but the so-called "servicing" of planes--in a negative sense--exceeded our wildest imagination. We could not believe how you could care so little for equipment which is, be what may, expensive. We, if we did not "pamper," at least we cared to maintain our planes in a proper, esthetic condition. But over there it is not so. They only think of exploiting, and nobody cares how the plane looks.

So, this is the story. The fire-prevention requirement was set up to have six planes in good shape and ready for action, and were we are short of one, because a Canadian pilot did not notice that one tree was quite a bit higher than the others and during patrol smashed the Dromader. So, the owner of the firm somehow "made himself understood" to our representative firm "Metex" in the U.S., which happened to have a Dromader in stock which later appears to be an unserviced "trade-in," so he sent the "unlucky" pilot for this plane. This trip was close to 3000 km so he flew back in about 3 days.

We could not believe our eyes, that this "thing" could fly under its own power from such a distance. The plane was not washed, not cleaned, dirty as an "unholy creature," totally splattered from the engine to the tail section with chemicals, oil, gasoline and the devil knows with what else. Before the flight to Canada they removed the unnecessary AGRO equipment (in the U.S. it is used as an agricultural plane, and we needed it for fire prevention), so they only removed the pipes from their endings. The so called necks just dangled under the wings like bells under a sheep's neck.

In addition it was revealed, that one fuel tank was not useable, so he flew on only one. The oil temperature gage was also damaged and steadily showed 150 degrees, so that for all practical purposes, it was not there.

The only clean things in this poor Dromader were the instruction manuals for the plane, since nobody looked at them, did not make any notations, loggings, certifications, repairs etc. The only information that could be retrieved was that by chance, the engine control timer (engine control timer, not the engine timer) was still operational, which in a way reflected engine use. From this information we established that the plane has already flown about 680 hours. Everybody will agree, even a novice, that this really is not much information. Still this plane, and this can only be accredited exclusively to its own merits and not to the maintenance crew's, still continued to fly well. If I had not seen this with my own eyes, I would have never believed that it could still fly.

Not always remembering that too often this diligence is forced by automation production lines, we always do remember the high work efficiency resulting from them. In general we are led to believe that the American is the ideal, truly a symbol of efficiency, while we are not. But what is the reality? Following are the statements of the production manager of the Aircraft Establishment WSK in Mielce (which incidently produces the Dromader). Eng Jan Blachowicz and one of the mechanics of this firm, Jerzy Juwy, both were in the U.S. in 1982 when we were under martial law.

In connection with what was written at that time in the U.S. press about our country, what was said on the radio and shown on television, and much was said, we were the objects of much attention. They literally looked at our hands, what things can these Poles do, how capable are they, how well they work. I don't want to "bull" that we worked as we ordinarily would, although as it later was evident, our regular working habits could impress the local technicians and mechanics. We wanted to show our best, so we worked the proverbial "Friday-Holiday" around the clock.

Each Dromader exported by us to the western hemisphere has to be first dismantled, (for shorter shipments it is generally flown) it is then preserved and packaged into crates and later reassembled. The plane is again put through various preflight inspections, ground tested, brake tested, flight tested, etc. Such a disassembly takes two days to 16 hours with the participation of 5-6 people. The reassembly with all of the mentioned tests including the acceptance control check sheets, takes three days at the utmost. However at one of the U.S. bases, which as a rule are of the rebuild shop variety at the distribution centers, we observed how the same work is done there. Coincidentally at this time three or four crated Dromaders were delivered. An 9-10 person American crew of professionals and old fogies, who had a background in military aircraft work, took a week to assemble a Dromader! We helped them a little, but in the end we decided to show them how we do it in the "Polish Way." There were six of us, we had the same assisting equipment at our disposition they had and completed the whole assembly including all tests in two days, on the third day the plane was ready for service.

You can't say that they were loafing. No, they worked steadily, with this difference however, that compared to us their work was very slow. This did not happen to be a base any worse than any other. If it were, it could not stand competition and would go bankrupt. And these people repeatedly heard that nobody wants to work in Poland and they have no experts.

Or still another case. In the town of Mauden in the state of Missouri a tornado struck with such force, that three battened down Dromader planes (other American planes also) were torn from their moorings, carried through the air and thrown on the hangar roof. One of the planes shown in pictures of the U.S. press, rammed the wall of the hangar so hard that it penetrated it. It is evident that after such an event the planes were in a sorry mess, as could be said, just a pile of junk. Some of the parts, like the wings were twisted in every which way. Nonetheless, we repaired all of our planes on the spot, in conditions which created by the Reagan embargo, made it impossible to get spare parts from Poland for repairs. We replaced the damaged skin of the fuselage with sheet metal, we hammered out the lifts, etc. The three Dromaders successfully passed all inspections of the local control facilities, approving them for further use. At all the reconditioning and certification centers we were plainly given to understand, that if we would only agree, they would hire all of us "on the spot" on a permanent basis (needless to say, none of us took advantage of the offers).

#### Workers' Opinions Concerning Crisis

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Zabinski "We Have to Pay Equally for the Crisis"]

[Text] Henryk Smolis, director of MPSUK [Municipal Enterprise of Communal Sanitary Services] in Wroclaw, while in Warsaw attending the National Conference of Labor Aktivs, had the occasion to speak with the new minister

of the Local Economy and Environmental Protection Administration, Gen Oliwa. In the short conversation he could not convey all of the aches and pains hindering the communal economy. He mentioned only the most important ones.

Smolis reasons this way: it is true that in the work establishments we are faced with inefficiencies, at times in a high degree. This causes an increase in inflation. The approach to these problems in each establishment varies. Many groups have achieved some success in the economy of materials, reduction in production costs. In the Wroclaw MPSUK there was a reduction in the consumption of ethylene from 338.4 tons in 1979, to 132.3 tons in 1982 and in diesel fuel from 883 tons to 814.6 tons. It was possible to accomplish this without any reduction in the quantity or quality of services rendered. People therefore were expecting to receive a reward for this in the form of higher compensation. Unfortunately, they were disappointed.

Smolis presented concise figures. This establishment employs 750 workers, costs were reduced by one million zlotys. From this million you have to subtract 800,000 for taxes and after final accounting 66,000 are left for the department. What is 66,000 zlotys for 750 people? You have to involve the people more in economizing. Solely through orders and recommendations, however reasonable, not much can be accomplished. Smolis is upset by the lack of order and the indifference shown in this area. At the refuse dumps there have been established collection points for secondary raw materials, but somehow nobody is interested in their recovery. It is doubtful that we can afford such wastefulness.

It is most important to encourage people to economize and produce more efficiently. Since with the aid of the financial method this cannot be attained, we have to look to other means. The people have to see that something is being done for them, they have to have something to look forward to, says Smolis. The loader in our plant works hard, the work is dirty and unappreciated, he earns about 8-9,000 zlotys per month. But certainly you can create a different outlook for this worker, at least the possibility of having his own lodgings. We had many discussions on this subject at our plant. With our earnings we cannot afford to set up a residential cooperative. Cheap, single-family constructions certainly are beyond our means. We have decided therefore to remodel some old apartment building and designate it for the workers. Do you know, sir, how many empty buildings of this kind there are in Wroclaw waiting for remodeling financing? We could do this, we have many willing people, our own trucking, we could organize the materials. But somehow we are unable to do enough begging to have one of these assigned to us. We had an eye on a building at the corner of Nowowiejska and Prusa. We applied for it, but in the end found out that another establishment had beat us to it. Well, so what? We will find another building. I am just now going to see the governor about this.

Henryk Smolis is the chairman of a professional union in which are enrolled half of the crew. He knows the problems well and the needs of the MPSUK. The unions alone cannot solve everything by themselves. Even the problem of untangling the causes of the crisis. Why should the worker suffer the

most? This hurts and irritates people very much and discourages economizing and the management of the establishment.

Why don't we set up a system whereby certain representatives of private enterprise receive compensation comensurate with work performed? It certainly is not fair that corduroy pants sown from material made in a government plant should cost at an agent 5,000 zlotys, while the government's price is 1,400 zlotys. Smolis figures that in the past we had speculation from "under the counter" and now it is openly over the counter. It is a deceptive hope that treasury services with the help of taxes will level out these unwarranted profits. Private enterprise is undoubtedly needed in the economy, but let it serve well as for instance in the NRD. Smolis himself has a private garden plot and knows some of the hothouse owners. He knows from them how much effort is required for the production of vegetables or flowers, transportation costs, seeds, heating, etc. But he also knows the profits owners of the stalls make sellings these items, the profits of the various middlemen. He compares the efforts to the gains and somehow it does not add up. He also knows the efforts of his friends in the establishment and comes to the conclusion that we will sooner come out of the crisis, if we will be more evenly burdened by its effects.

12306

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PROVINCIAL WORKERS PASSIVE RESISTANCE REPORTED

Elimination of Social Pathology Phenomena

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 28 Mar 83 p 1

[PAP Article, Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] A 2-day plenum of the Supreme Council of the Union of Polish Scouts ended in Warsaw 27 March. It was devoted to discussions of how to counteract youth and children being socially endangered and threatened healthwise. It is estimated that the number of children and youth with varying degrees of social maladjustments reaches one million. Every fifth pupil has a disease or a physical defect. Every year over 30,000 underage persons enter into conflict with the law. This scale of endangerment, as was stressed in the presentation of the presidium of the Supreme Council of the Polish Union of Scouts, creates an urgent need to work out an effective system of counteracting the pathology phenomena. The Union of Polish Scouts, as it was stated at the plenum, cannot replace the school, health service or parents. It should participate, however, still more actively in prevention, exerting influence on the 3-million strong mass of members in such a way that a scout becomes resistant to social danger, that he acquires permanently-crystallized habits of health maintenance and that he is able to withstand living misfortunes.

The plenum passed a resolution in which it was stated, among other things, that social and biological pathology phenomena which have intensified for years now, have not been researched in a thorough fashion for causes and are not uniformly defined as to their quantity.

The Supreme Council obligated the scout commands, instructors and dens to initiate cooperation with the youth union in common activity of influencing the young and of offering the care to children who are subjects of pathology.

PRON Anti-Social Pathology Proposals

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 28 Mar 83 p 5

[Interview with Dr Kazimierz Masalski, PRON activist, by Mirosław Dymczak]

[Text] Kazimierz Masalski, an active worker of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth offered an initiative

to establish a society for combating social pathology. Dr Masalski has occupied himself for 36 years with pedagogy of resocialization. He worked in succession in educational institutions in Raciborz, Lobzenica, Studzieniec, Sieradz, Naklo-on-Notec; presently he is the director of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko State Youth Educational Center in Malbork.

[Answer] When I was in college, I became aware of the problem of difficult youth. It fascinated me, maybe because I myself am not an easy person. The choice of this professional specialization was decided to a large extent due to an uncommon personality of Prof Maria Grzegorzewska whom I met while at the Institute of Special Pedagogy. My further studies, and particularly on the clearly noticeable growth of social pathologies have confirmed that the choice was correct. In the course of long years of professional work I dealt with over 12,000 pupils. I learned their personality and family and milieu conditioning. I judge that this experience entitles me to speak up on the subject of pathology--a phenomenon which occurs in our country on a growing scale and in an ever more complex shape. In Poland and in very many countries, social pathology now occurs which make life more difficult for individual persons and for the milieus in which they function. They cause a lot of anxiety and frequently also tragedies. Pathologies are named and classified in a variety of ways. Their scope of occurrence is also varied.

Some social pathology has already received statistical and scientific description. About some it is known that it is, that it grows, that it annoys and that it brings to a crisis individual persons and those people around them.

In Poland and abroad there is a search for methods of diagnosing many pathologies and their symptoms and of counteracting them. There also occurs, however, a great deal of indifference and tolerance towards them. It is accepted that since nothing wrong has happened it is therefore of no consequence, and even if there exists a problem, then it will take care of itself. Only sudden excesses which are committed or dramatic events, wake up public opinion leading to feverish, chaotic attempts which are thus of little effectiveness.

[Question] What speaks in favor of the need to establish a new organization--let us say, a society--for combating social pathologies?

[Answer] In our country three departments occupy themselves with issues of social pathology: health and social welfare, education and upbringing, justice and also internal affairs. Every now and then these problems are considered by the government and the Sejm. The implementation of decision which has been reached and of other actions is not coordinated, however. The functioning of various problem-counselling services presents a similar case. Professional personnel who deal with individual segments of social pathology phenomena know little about each other. There exist, for example, inspectors in the militia organs for problems of the underage, court and social workers at family courts and also superintendants of resocialization and prevetion. There exist specialists who work also in counselling centers and in resocialization centers. A need to unite all these activities does not hopefully have to be justified.

The situation in regard to prophylactic and resocializing institutions which are subordinated to various departments is similar: counselling, house of children, educational and correctional institutions, militia rooms for children, diagnostic and guiding centers of commissions by educational inspectorships and directors of parish schools, courts for under of age and family courts, citizens militia MO and curatorial centers. We cannot, as a matter of course, omit these social organizations which deal with pathologies: self-government, of inhabitants, conciliatory councils and sociodisciplinary councils, social aid and antialcohol committees, centers of the society for soberness of transporters, and others, and also psychological, psychic, hygiene, general knowledge, psychiatric and youth Movement to Counteract Drug Addiction Monar [movement to counteract drug addiction] societies. Summing up: the intensity, type and degree of violence of occurrence of social pathologies and also of endangerments caused by them practically force upon us the necessity of coordination of preventive activities and of formulation of complex solutions. None of the existing organizations or institutions is or will be able to do it in spite of concrete and unquestionable achievements in particular segments. A "sociopathologic society" should become the place for this. It groups a wide circle of specialists of various fields united by a wish to protect the moral health of the Poles.

The aim of this society should be to organize concrete assistance for individual persons who find themselves in socially pathologic situations, to diagnose and to accumulate knowledge about phenomena of pathology, to mobilize and to develop social initiatives for prevention and overcoming of such phenomena as alcoholism, delinquency, parasitism, profiteering, prostitution and others, to support factors conducive to the creation of regional and national preventive and resocializing systems. Such a society should also inspire patronage over difficult people and people for whom life is difficult, and particularly over those who return from resocializing and curative institutions, and to suggest further the directions of scientific research, to prepare publications, to win over various institutions for cooperation, as well as organizations and associations which act in narrow specializations and also to shape the public opinion engaging it for active overcoming of all barriers between people.

A "Sociopathologic Association" should have within its reach the entire country. At the beginning it can be formed on the scale of individual provinces. There are many indications that the beginning will be made by the Elblag Province. The sooner this will take place the greater profit will be for the moral health protection in our country. Everybody will probably admit that now is the most opportune time to get fully involved in this, by now, truly important problem.

#### Combating Social Pathology More Effectively

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 28 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Karol Krus]

[Text] On the 25th of this month there was in Olsztyn a successive session of the Provincial Committee on Organization WKO. At the session an evaluation

was made of the implementation of the Military Council's for National Defense WRON rules of 11 September 1982, as well as of the decisions reached by the Provincial Committee on Organization on 23 August and on 7 December of last year. The evaluation was made of the state of calm, of order, and of public safety, and of the effectiveness of combating the profiteering, wastefulness and inefficiency. The issues involved in apartment distribution management and in complaints and requests by citizens were also analyzed.

The deputy commandant of the Executive Committee of Citizens Militia [MO] Col Andrzej Wojcicki presented information referring to the first of the problems mentioned above. It ensures from it that last year almost 7500 offenses of various kind were committed in the province. This is by 4 percent more than in 1981. The crime detectability rate amounted to 78.6 percent and that number was by 3 percent higher than in 1981. Among others, 950 break-ins into socialized economy objects were noticed and fewer less into objects of private sector--930; there were also 1350 cases of theft of private property. Last year 13 murders were committed in the province. This number has not increased by comparison with last year but it also has not dropped. The greatest increase was among such offenses as illegal production of alcohol and profiteering. In the first case, the increase was sixfold and in the second, the increase was threefold. Last year not only no improvement in the situation was noted unfortunately but there was an increase in criminal offenses. During the first two months they increased by 15 percent. The offenses of political character have not disappeared either. The offenses of political character have not disappeared either. Cases of distribution of leaflets continue to occur and also activities directed towards harming or destroying objects of national heritage value.

All kinds of large operations undertaken by militia organs serve among other things, the cause of returning to calm, order and public safety. It is enough to say that already this year 25 such operations which reached the entire province were conducted. Such operations will be continued. Soon, for instance, a control for assuring property safety in all socialized-economy units will begin. The plenipotentiary of KOK, Col (with a diploma) Henryk Swiecicki, turned attention to a still little-effective variety of actions which aim at stopping criminal offenses and economic inefficiency. Operations which have an immediate character but which at that engage tremendous forces, do not give expected results. We have to search for methods of continuous action as well as of such a system of control which would scare away the element of the criminal offenders--he said.

Janusz Olszta, the president of the Provincial Court expressed a view that, in spite of an intensified criminal policy, it is difficult to notice elements which would point to the improvement of the situation in this regard. In 1981 in the province 3580 persons were sentenced and last year 4489 were sentenced. The speaker posed a question: What would happen if no preventive measures were taken? Jan Poznysz, the province prosecutor stated that comparative statistical data on criminal offenses do not give a fully representative picture. If in 1981 only comparatively few cases were taken up which concerned profiteering or illegal production of alcohol, then this does not mean that such offenses were not committed. Simply then very few people occupied themselves with that. It is consoling to know that a rather noticeable decrease in the heaviest offenses is noticed: robberies, bodily injuries, rapes (decrease by 19 percent).

Jan Poznysz paid attention to the necessity of undertaking on a broad scale of preventive actions which would include, among others, a mobilization of society to condemn all evil. Deputy Provincial governor Henryk Baranowski when speaking about phenomena of social pathology, pointed out to the causes of many of them. First of all, the crisis in itself creates a preference for specific offenses. Second, in many work establishments conditions exist for committing them. This is tied to the state of securing the safety of property as well as to not observing the discipline of work on part of the workers. An example is the tolerance for alcoholic consumption during working hours. Many irregularities are created by the authority of work establishments to dispose of a certain percent of their own products. As a result of irregular distribution of these goods, a field of activity opens up for profiteering. Another problem: in some units of the socialized economy, the managers ceased to receive complaints and requests. This must be conducive, among other things, to formation of irregularities in human relations and to an increase of bad feelings.

The deputy provincial governor, Jan Chudy, chairman of the Commission for Combating Profiteering, stated that in spite of visible achievements of this commission there is a lack of fully satisfying results. He offered a postulate that in antiprofitereering activities fundamental attention should be paid to lost merchandise in industrial production of large value. When speaking about arranged sales in work establishments, he underlined the mechanical division of merchandise in many units. Social organizations which are active there do not treat this important matter in a proper fashion.

The first secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee, Jan Laskowski, concentrated attention in his presentation on the issue of creating a proper social atmosphere. Today the atmosphere is not positive. Many issues will not be resolved unless reasons are found for this bad atmosphere. Obviously we are not interested in a superficial evaluation but in a full-scale analysis, which we still lack. This is one of the causes of our difficulty in convincing the society to take desired actions. In the Olsztyn area we notice a lot of irregularities and crime. Has a real increase in them occurred, or are we simply noticing these phenomena better? The statistics do not create a basis for complex evaluations. We do not know how many profiteers were brought to justice. The first secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee indicated that many citizens' complaints and requests were treated purely formally and that this was the cause of the bad social atmosphere. A different question connected with this is the improper reaction towards employees who take their complaints outside.

At the end of session, the chairman of the Provincial Committee on Organization WKO, the Olsztyn Province governor Rubczewski spoke up. At the beginning he stated that until recently we were dealing in our country with the phenomenon of a tremendous anarchy, which left traces in public life. Life cannot be allowed to again become anarchic. If we want to act efficiently then we must first of all learn the causes of the deteriorating social atmosphere. Signals alone cannot be the basis of taking binding decisions. Social disease takes on the dimensions of an epidemic. Questions of social calm and order continue to leave a lot to be desired, social discipline is also in bad shape. We are far from getting rid of wastefulness and inefficiency. We are making a tremendous effort in our struggle to eliminate these phenomena but the effort does not measure up to results. One may, of course, pose a question: What would have

happened if this struggle did not exist? One of the most urgent aims is to develop preventive activity on a large scale with which we can reach work establishments. We continue to uncover, by far, too many conditions which foster the occurrence of criminal offenses. What is worse, a new form of profiteering appeared recently between units of the socialized economy. We cannot brush this fact aside. As long as there exist an insufficient supply of a goods, it will unfortunately be difficult to insure a regular goods distribution.

### Social Pathology Equals Parasitism

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Henryk Waszczuk, judge of the Provincial Court in Opole]

[Text] Always but particularly during recent years, popular opposition is aroused by the fact that some citizens of our country stubbornly avoid socially useful work and support themselves from sources which are in collision with law or with principles of social coexistence. This phenomenon, which is counted among the social pathology symptoms, is colloquially named "social parasitism." We deal with it when somebody (a parasite) in a manner other than through work can secure for himself an affluent life, and at the same time achieves gains in such a manner that he does not merit social acceptance, and the work which millions of citizens perform he considers unworthy of himself.

Social parasitism is a complex social phenomenon due both to the causes of its formation and to the variety of forms of its occurrence. For example, the oldest profession of the world and profits which are gained from this procedure, black-marketeering in money, and opulence resulting from it, is excessive and unjustified by work or by decent profit, of finally, the coercion of people in difficult situations into a specific behavior--all these are examples of only some forms of this behavior.

One of the means of combating these negative and pathologic phenomena is the law of 26 October 1982 about proceedings towards people who avoid work (Law of the Law Gazette, number 35, para 229, of 1982) and an executive order (Law of Law Gazette number 45 para 45, 304 and 305 of 1982).

The mentioned law while taking up certain measures of counteracting social parasitism, cannot depreciate work and does not do it anyway because work for the majority of society is something obvious, indispensable and necessary for the satisfaction of needs, ambitions and also for personal and social growth. Work which is understood in such a manner, regardless of profession or, function fulfilled, is a source of many satisfactions and under no circumstances should be treated as a punishment. Before the law proceeding against people who avoid work was published, opinions appeared in which the unequivocal and severe resolution of the problem of unemployment in Poland of people who detest work or of so-called parasites was demanded. It was demanded that labor camps be created and that forced labor be introduced. The content of the laws issued is determined by the international obligations

of Poland which result from the ratification of the acts of the international law. Poland showed on many occasions much legislative initiative in the creation of this law.

This concerns especially the convention of the International Organization of Labor and also of the International Pact of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The mentioned acts of the international law establish a prohibition of use of forced labor or obligatory labor.

According to the convention of the International Organization of Labor, forced or obligatory labor is any labor or services demanded of a person under the threat of punishment and for which a given person did not willfully volunteer.

And so, only within these limits can the law of 26 October 1982 and its solutions oscillate.

Taking therefore into consideration the conditions which result from international law, the general principle of the law is that it does not introduce an obligation to work.

According to article 1--a Polish citizen and only a male who is at least 18-years old but is not more than 45-years old, is obligated to appear before basic regional administrative state organs at the place of his permanent residence, and to present to this organ an explanation as to why he remains unemployed or why he is not studying--this is if for a period of at least 3 months he has not had work or has not studied in a school and also is not registered with an employment agency as a person looking for work through a work mediation search.

The following persons are excluded from this obligation:

- retired persons and persons on pension
- farmers who work private farms and members of their families who are employed on such farms and also members of agricultural productive cooperatives.
- craftsmen performing crafts on the basis of the required permit and also members of their families who are subject to socialized insurance.
- persons who perform a documented income-creating activity on their own account
- persons who perform cultural activity or cultural creative work, literary work, educational, scientific or publicistic work
- persons on state or social scholarships
- members of coluntary work corps
- clergy and monks of churches and religious unions recognized by the state
- persons drawing relief assistance and social insurance



--all disabled persons partially or fully.

The catalogue of people who are covered by exclusions is wide and the solutions accepted by the law--together with regulations of criminal law, criminal and administrative law, administrative law, civil law, and in particular tax law--form only a system of influencing persons who avoid work so as to convince (coerce) them to take up work which is socially useful (and that not only within the framework of the work relationship) and of elimination of possibilities of supporting themselves from sources which are in collision with law and are not socially accepted.

What obligations does the law introduce and consequences for citizens ensue from it?

First of all, a citizen is to fulfill this duty without waiting for a request to appear by the administrative organ. It is therefore a duty akin to obligation to register, and nonfulfillment of this duty by a citizen is a form of misdemeanor which is threatened by punishment of limitation of freedom of up to 3 months or as a penalty of 20,000 zlotys (article 20 of the cited law).

The consequence of the introduction of the obligation on the part of a citizen to report certain facts described in the law is a creation of proven list of persons forming a collection of information about people who do not work and do not study, and at the same time among the more important pieces of information include the reason for remaining unemployed or not studying.

Second of all--The fact of entering into evidence the name of a given person forms the basis for taking specific actions by the administrative organs. And so the administrative organ first of all should point to these people possible methods of obtaining work, mediate between these persons and work establishments in the matter of finalizing an employment and in case of rejection of an offer made, entering that persons name into the evidence list of persons who shun work, of course only after the procedure foreseen by the law and executive acts has been exhausted.

The decision to enter a name into evidence can be taken to court on the principle defined in the regulations of the code of administrative behavior (article 9 of the law). However the entry of the name into such an evidence list entitles the state administrative organs to undertake the following actions:

1. The person who has been entered into evidence may be called in by the administrative organ to present an affidavit of sources of support and at the same time the state administrative organ is entitled to establish the level of income which has not been shown in uncovered sources and to assign a proper income tax (article 11 of law), and these activities can be repeated many times.
2. Persons drawn into evidence as people who shun work may be obligated to perform work for public gain in cases of emergency or calamity forming a serious threat to normal public conditions as a whole or in part of (article 13 of the Law), and this obligation consists of performing work in groups, public works or in assigned places (article 14 of the Law).

An important limitation of this law are the decision of article 15 of the law which states that the total time of performing of work for public gain by a particular person in the evidence list cannot exceed 60 days a year.

The effects of shunning assigned obligations were foreseen in article 21 of the Law 2, the law where it is stated that if the person who is obligated to undertake work for public gain does not appear at a definite time or place or shuns performance of this work without justified cause, such a person commits a criminal offense and will be threatened with punishment of limiting his freedom for up to 2 years or with a penalty of a fine.

To end, one more comment. The law went into effect on 1 January 1983 (article 23 of the Law). Its successes depends on the attitude of the entire society to the phenomenon of social parasitism, on the creation of such an atmosphere that these persons will meet with disapproval on the part of the great majority of honestly working citizens who fulfill their civic duties and are members of our social community.

#### Combating Social Pathology

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 6 Apr 83 pp 3, 5

[Article by Marian Dlugolecki]

[Text] I read in a certain women's weekly (I am sending my respects!) the gleaning of 'WOMEN'S DAY, that is, a miniquestionnaire: "A Partner for a Crisis." And what do I find there? What kind of a partner for crisis does a women choose? A coed wants "an ideal one as always," a woman teacher "still a better one than always," while a woman lawyer wants in the second variant a man "who makes money," and a woman economist "best of all the one with a large overhanging pouch in his wallet--a well-stuffed wallet." And so it all came out! The truth was bared. That all is--Your Honor (in court)--because of these women and especially because of women lawyers and economists. A man without dough is for them a lowly nothing, air. What does a man do then? A true man following the example of his old-time progenitors from the epoch of spears and hunting goes hunting. He goes hunting for dough.

The killers of an Otwock cab-driver probably did not hunt for the sake of the woman lawyer or the woman economist, as they were greedy for a few zlotys of daily take only. The killer of a Krakow cab-driver also did not hunt for dough, he probably defended with honor the dignity of a woman although before he did that he had few shots of wine, and that too for a woman, because one should have courage. But let us drop this irony. We have had enough of it since we are dealing with serious problems of criminal offenses, to which we own seriousness and the dignity of the highest concern. It is true, though, that Minister Kiszczak consoles us from the Sejm podium that as to the number of murders, robberies and rapes, Poland does not belong in the forefront of the world, but I would prefer it if it would not be in that statistic at all. But in the meantime it belongs there, because among poles blood is not water and vodka is usually of 40-45 percent strength.

Let us pose the question naively: Do we stand a chance to combat these criminal offenses? And moreover, offenses which are so often so primitive? That's because the aggressor has had few vodkas or is in search of "few vodkas." The primitivism of this phenomenon consists of the aggressor first using "Paramonov's hammer" and then beating up the victim to the last breadth. It is difficult to understand the killers of the Otwock cab-driver because they do not understand themselves as the court proceedings showed. They beat a man up to death. But if we are to consider the matter seriously then we cannot limit ourselves to the analysis of successive murderers or to their heartlessness. Not in the psychology, I think, of a man completely dependent on spirits should one look for causes. Maybe rather in the sphere of certain social attitudes which the film "Karate Polish Style" has the ambition to depict and to offer for viewers to think about.

It became customary that social tolerance surrounds everybody who feels at home in the pathology sphere, but has not yet committed the extreme. He drinks? And well, yes, he does, what else can he do? This is one argument from the richest of all books, the book of our tolerance. He is getting out of hand and making a brawl? And well, yes, he does, he is making a brawl because he must live it up. That is the second argument. A hooligan? And well, yes, he is a hooligan but he did not touch me. That is the third argument. It is impossible to combat this whole pathology without social insistence, without decisive pressure created together by society or its organizations and by the forces of repression.

From where did this tolerance come from? First of all, when treating the entire pathology as a problem extremely embarrassing for socialism and particularly embarrassing for Poles, we would like to get rid of it quietly. Pst, quiet,-- there is no problem anymore. We are only busy with creative work for the "good." Within the framework of this concept: "quietly," there would from time to time appear in the mass media some thug who already has been sentenced and also who was supposed to exert preventive influence on others. As a warning an admonition, a memento. This concept was clearly defeated. Not behind the scenes but only with the raised curtain can this problem be tackled and many countrymen can be spared misfortune. "We must combat pathology without false shame?" stated Gen W. Jaruzelski. The report of Gen C. Kiszczak presented to Sejm, the reflection over this entire catalogue of offenses compels us to pose a not-at-all simple question: Should the organization of this common lack of tolerance for pathology, the public struggle with it, take place only on the top level in our state structure? Tolerance in villages, tolerance in small settlements and in little towns is due to a very simple reason, due to a human and a natural fear of remaining lonely in this battlefield of ours.

The film "Karate Polish Style" portrays this aspect correctly, it shows that in a small-town milieu it is extremely easy to win the right to show the fist. Favoritism, consent arrangements, secrecy, a small beer. In fact that is all that is needed. What happens in Polish small-town restaurants or in various bars--of course with vodka, with beer--exceeds one's imagination. A normal man either does not enter or else retreats quicker than he entered. Mothers caution children to avoid these abodes of plagues. The transformation of

restaurants into drinking hideouts comes extremely easily. And so, one would think, what is needed on this level is strengthening of the militia! And what can they, poor guys do, if there are at best two of them at a time! The country community, the small-town community must achieve a certainty confirmed by practice that it has a consistent ally in the organs of the lowest level of authority and that even in the face of personal danger nobody will be left without proper protection and assistance of the authorities. In this matter there must occur a clear breakthrough and every drunk and every brawler must, even in spite of being dazed, have it injected into his consciousness that a sober citizen is always right because this rightness will be granted to him by the authorities who offer him protection.

The report of Gen C. Kiszczak in the Sejm affirms that in the government there exists tolerance for repression understood in such a manner which has as its integral component the organization of social forces to combat the causes of pathology. Because it does not follow that of offender had to become an offender. On the other hand, it is for sure possible to say that the general lack of tolerance can save many from criminal offenses.

#### Attacking Roots of Social Pathology

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 29-30 Apr- 1 May 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] Plenum of PZPR Executive Committee. Where are and how to combat the sources of social pathology.

(Our Own Information) The tasks of the provincial party organization in materializing principles of socialist justice and in overcoming the abnormalities of social life were the topics of the plenary session Thursday of the Executive Committee PZPR in Poznan. In the session which the first secretary of the Executive Committee, Gen Edward Lukasik led, a group of invited workers and farmers participated as well as Stanislaw Kalkus, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee PZPR, Gen Tadeusz Dziekan, director of the Personnel Department of the Central Committee, and Gen Stanislaw Zaczkowski, deputy minister of internal affairs.

In the presentation of the Executive Committee read by Jan Mielcarek, secretary of the provincial echelon, the concentration was on the main sources of pathology in social life: shunning work and studies, alcoholism, unfavorable family situations, demoralization of under age people and profiteering. The successive decisions of the authorities which attenuated the rigors of the martial law and its lifting became the factor which deepened and hastened the normalization of social, political, and economic life. Next to positive symptoms there are also negative symptoms born by crisis and consistently combated in accordance with the resolution of the 9th Congress of the PZPR, a party which is the main guarantor and implementing agent of the principles of social justice. The process which brings us closer to full stabilization is dependant on the action of the administration, on all social forces and on each and every Pole. It is necessary to demonstrate through social education and through economic practice that the task of the economic reform is the introduction of the principle of just inequality so that those who work well would gain more while the inept and inefficient workers who at times maliciously waste the collective effort would come to a conclusion that it is not worth their while to work badly. It is necessary to eliminate

the conviction that in socialism it is possible to live at other people's expense. The secretary of the Executive Committee informed that within the purview of reeducational and disciplinary activities it is foreseen that the following will take place: once every quarter "Parasite" action will be organized; the Treasury Department will investigate the sources of support of the unemployed and of those who persistently shun work, the disability certificates of third category will be verified (from the point of view of establishing professional activity through rehabilitation) and the Provincial Military Headquarters will be informed about people shunning work so that they could be drafted for military service for the exercises. Nineteen people took part in the discussion. Observations of danger to social life which occurred in social milieus and in work establishments were made. It was stressed that the working crews are definitely opposed to inconsistencies in combating the unfavorable phenomena. The sooner it will be possible to reach full success in limiting and liquidating the, the more uniform the social front for their disapproval will be. The good example of every PZPR member is necessary to combat pathology, as well as frequent discussion of these problems by basic organizations and by higher-level echelons. Particular care should be given to youth so as to defend it more effectively against demoralization.

Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs S. Zaczekowski stated that the functionaries of this resort are encountering in their work more often the support of the society. He stressed the consistent implementation of resolutions of the 9th Congress on the part of the PZPR and the state. The phenomenon of negation of authority is diminishing while the awareness that only order and good work will allow us to come out of crisis is becoming prevalent. In spite of actions of the political opponenets the level of social discipline rises. On the other hand, in many work establishments cases of return of old methods of management are noted as well as the rebirth of cliques of bribery and corruption. Some opponents of positive changes disguised themselves sabotaging the anticrisis activities. In Poznan where many positive results were achieved a considerable threat of criminal offenses continues to exist, especially in industry, in food industry and in crafts. The most crisis-derived element is social parasitism and alcoholism

T. Dziekan, director of the Personnel Department of the Central Committee of PZPR also spoke. He turned attention to the fact that the law must be scrupulously followed when liberally using the argument for combating social pathology one and for all. The members of PZPR must monitor law abidingness. The speaker stressed the need to tighten the criteria of control and of evaluation of 140,000 employees of various control institutions. Until the present moment tooo often they closed their eyes on this matter.

In turn a resolution was accepted which contains directives in the area of combating social pathology.

The sessions were summed up by E. Lukasik. In the name of the head of the Executive Committee PZPR on the occasion of the First of May he offered best wishes to the community of the Poznan Province

## On Trails of Social Pathology

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 83 p 5

[Article by Krystyna Majda]

[Text] How to Win a Fortune

When the director stopped being director, his wife divorced him. This fact surprised some of their acquaintances because they always considered them to be happily married. The divorce, however, did not change anything in their life--they continued to live together and to have a common social life. On the surface this couple did not form an economic unit, they were making money separately. She started a stocking repair and panty hose sales shop while he had a small tailoring workshop and a linen manufacture. According to regulations, both were exempted from taxes for 2 years and could buy and sell goods without limitations, and without keeping records of it. Had they stayed married they would not have been able to have two private businesses but would have received a permit just for one. But when granting them the divorce the court could not foresee such a circumstance.

The exdirector had contacts in various industrial establishments; without difficulty he supplies himself and his ex-wife in rejected goods which are not at times rejected. But it is difficult to prove how much of fabric or of pantyhose of top quality is in several tons of that stuff. And so in only a few years a couple who are in a state of concubinage made together between 10 and 20 million. In order not to raise suspicions, the luxurious houses they registered in the name of their underage heir.

The craftsmen who for many years were in charge of the shop suddenly felt threatened since the associations were being dissolved and more often than not the old-time directors and bosses exchanged their places in state offices for private shop counters, and their power for fortune of millions. These are usually the same people who over a year ago were thundering from the podium at various sessions that there was no work for them. The associations are dissolved and they themselves will be fired and will end up on the street corner without means to support themselves. They willingly, therefore, used resolution no 169 according to which they received a 6 months' severance pay. If, however, they would open up private workshops then they would have priority in purchase of raw materials and machinery which are of no use in factories.

Contacts with work establishments all over Poland which one has on account of performing some function in the past, facilitates growth of private business. Nobody will now be surprised that the today's millionaires have not accepted any offers of work in socialized establishments, they even rejected prominent positions. That is because it was more comfortable to apply for a private business permit from the position of a man who does not quite see himself employed after his association has been dissolved or after the position of deputy director in his firm has been abolished.



One of the women proprietors of "purchase-sale" shops who in the past occupied a high position in a certain united enterprise in Lodz has her own goods warehouse which has been estimated at 10 million zlotys worth.

In the Department for Combating Economic Offenses of the Executive Committee of the Citizens Militia, an announcement was made that in Lodz agglomeration there are 21 millionnaires known to the militia who exploit gaps in the rules and regulations, cunningly bypassing the law, and who make huge fortunes out of the crisis. It is known, for instance, that they can obtain parts of machinery in factories because the parts are unavailable in free trade. It is also difficult to prove how many rejected goods they buy in plants, and how many are article fit for sale at once at prices many times higher than in the socialized trade stores. But it is also a fact that these articles are difficult to obtain on the market and therefore the customers buy them paying no attention to price. A woman, for instance, who has one last pair of pantyhose left buys her next pair in the very first private store. She buys her own underwear the same way, paying no attention to quality. After a short, maybe one-day use she has runs in the poor-quality fabric. Underwear cannot be exchanged and several hundred zloyts are lost forever. In Lodz and in Lodz Province there are 25,000 private workshops and stores--small tailoring and linen manufacturing plants.

Women from socialized stores and plants ask questions of a minister or some other government member when they come to visit: Where is justice? How long will sly rascals make money on workers, hoard millions while remaining themselves unpunished? Why is there no effective price and quality control of products sold in private stores? A drastic example of lack of control are practices in "purchase-sale" stores. By now the files grow thick with cases involving those storeowners. When they buy the merchandise they do not have any obligation to show the receipt to the man who delivers it because the receipt is meant for treasury authorities. They write in higher prices than they paid in reality in order to get a large profit for themselves.

It would also so happen that a customer would sell pants but in the receipt silver plate pendants were written in. No wonder that a certain Lodz resident was greatly surprised when she was called to the militia to confirm the price she was paid in the "purchase-sale" store for earnings which she never owned. And again somebody who was setting the principles of functioning of "purchase-sale" stores committed a mistake in the rules. Why does not the customer receive in his hands a copy or even the original of the receipt with details written in of what he consigned and for what price?

"In the past, a thief looked for a carrier. Nowadays customs changed, merchandise is sold off the hands," says the functionary of the Executive Committee of Citizen's Militia.

"This is why the militia has a difficult task in combating offense. Almost everybody will buy everything what is unavailable on the market, without thinking where the merchandise comes from. Every day in almost every Lodz textile factory smaller or larger thefts take place. It is impossible to punish a woman in a particular manner who has been caught stealing 10 meters of rubber.



But if she repeats this procedure several times a month she gains a sizable sum of money this way. Private producers who are unable to buy this merchandise in retail will buy it anywhere and from anybody without any hesitation if available.

A separate chapter of this criminal procedure is made by some private and leased restaurants. In militia files the names of very well-known and well-frequented Lodz and Lodz suburb restaurants and saloons show up often. Simply, they purchase more vodka than they show in registers to authorities (at this time I will withhold the names of the restaurants because explanatory proceedings are in process against them).

And here are examples how millions are hoarded. An owner of a restaurant bought 4.5 million zlotys worth of vodka but showed a turnover for 2 million. Last year in Lodz Province 15 private owners of gastronomic enterprises were levied a surtax of 16 million zlotys for hiding their real turnover in alcohol. When selling 1000 bottles of vodka the owner of a saloon earns 150,000 zlotys of pure profit. On the other hand, it is difficult to pin down the extra profit made by waiters who serve the drunken consumers. In only one Lodz leased out restaurant for each person employed there is 3,000 zlotys of illegal profit to be shared daily. This money is gained from changes in menu of some hors-d'oeuvres (serving raw saurkraut salad in place of cucumber salad) and also from cheating when measuring vodka which is served in shot glasses. The simplest way, however, of making money without work is... trading in places in queue lines. For instance for trading in a place in a line for an automatic washer or for a refrigerator 10,000 zlotys are given as a payoff. Places in line for furniture are also well paid off. These "line holders," do not heard million fortunes of the kind that are made by people who deal in small manufacturing production.

When I wrote about old-time directors who now are dealing in small manufacturing production, I was not searching for cheap sensationalism nor did I question that in our conditions this manufacturing production is necessary for filling the needs of a poor market. Many craftsmen struggle with great difficulties to supply themselves with raw materials, machinery and other means of production. It appears however indispensable to withdraw permits for conducting private economic activity to those people who exploit their connections in socialized enterprises and thus enter on the road of criminal offenses. This does not mean that small manufacturing production should not reconvert the rejected goods products of industry but they should be controlled so that with them full quality raw materials and ready made merchandise would not be smuggled.

It is necessary to limit the number and change the criteria for issuing permits for conducting private economic activity. Cheating on taxes should be punished more severely just like what happens in capitalist countries and in other socialist countries. A too-great a tolerance towards people who prey on economic crisis leads to an ever greater impoverishment of working people. It is time to put an end to the conviction, common in our society, that whoever has a good head for business and not a good head and hands for work may easily become a millionaire in Poland.

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